NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. — Without Concealment----Without Compromise. — JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Corresponding Editor.

VOLUME IX.---NO. 24. — NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1848. — WHOLE NUMBER 440.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY,
BY THE
AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY
At 142 Nassau Street, New-York.

☞ All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to the Editor.

☞ Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to S. H. Gay, Assistant Treasurer, at New-York.

TERMS.—Two Dollars per annum: Strictly in advance in all cases.

Selections.

From the Western Citizen.

USURPATION OF THE SLAVE POWER IN THE APPOINTMENT AND CONTROL OF THE OFFICERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

Arranged to the close of Mr. Polk's Administration, March 3, 1849.

It has been estimated on the most competent authority, that there are not more than *two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders*—the owners of the three million slaves in our land. They comprise one *eightieth* part of the whole population. They are scattered over fifteen of the States, and have monopolized for their use, more than two-thirds of the original territory of the States, and are seeking now to extend that monopoly to the new territory, acquired by the treaty with Mexico. Yet, few as they are in numbers, comparatively, this class of persons have usurped the entire control of the Federal Government, so far as it has been necessary to protect, foster, perpetuate, and extend Slavery. They have made this institution the chief end and object of the Government. In order that Slavery might live, it has been necessary that it should have the whole power and patronage of the Government—as well as the pecuniary aid, political influence, and moral character of the free States. It could not live in an independent country with no contiguous Free Soil and Free Labour from which to derive insidiously or directly its support. It is not surprising then, that the slave power should have made desperate efforts to usurp the control of the Government, for it has been necessary to its existence.

It has been distinctly avowed by a slaveholding politician of North Carolina, that it was the design of the slaveholders "TO GIVE LAWS TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT."

Says the late, much respected John Quincy Adams, in his report in 1844, on the Massachusetts Resolves against the slave representation in the Constitution—"*All political power in the States, is absorbed and engrossed by the owners of slaves, and the overruling policy of the States is shaped to strengthen and consolidate their dominion.*"

And says also the same great statesman—"The preservation, perpetuation, and propagation of Slavery, have become the vital and animating principle of the American Government. Every law of the legislature becomes a link in the chain of the slave, every executive act a rivet to his hapless fate, and every judicial decision a perversion of the human intellect to the justification of wrong."

The slave power has ever carried its ends, by making the preservation and extension of Slavery a test question; and being united on the test the South will vote for no man Whig or Democratic, Northern or Southern, who is not "sound to the core," on the question of Slavery. The North, on the other hand, has always been driven to the wall, because it has not made human liberty a *test* question,—has not met the South on its issue, but has been divided on questions of minor importance, and betrayed by dough-faces and serviles, whenever she has trusted them. Politicians have not lost character at the North for survilance to Slavery, while at the South any man disposed to take an honest position for Freedom is ostracised at once. We hope the time is coming, and now is, when this condition of things will be reversed.

It is the object of this article, to show how and to what extent, these 250,000 slaveholders, have "*given laws* to the Government," by appointing and controlling its officers in each of its departments.

The facts and statements presented will prove the following allegations:

1. The South has ruled the nation, though less in population and votes, and inferior in intelligence, wealth, manufactures, commerce, and agriculture.

2. That the slave States are not only less in population, but were so when the Union was formed.—That they contributed less in money and in military force to gain our national independence; and have not performed their just part in these particulars in maintaining that independence, while they have had the chief control of the policy of the Government.

3. The North has submitted to this injustice, while it has had the power at any time to release itself, and let Slavery die out, by resuming the control and directing the policy of the Government.

1. PROPORTION OF POPULATION.

Free White Population.

	Slave States,	Free States,	Exc's o'Free States,	Pr'portion.
1790	1,271.692	1,900,772	629 080	'400 (2-5)
1800	1,702 980	2 601,509	898,229	' 95 (3 8)
1810	2,208,785	3,633,219	1,344,434	'376 (8 21)
1820	2,842 340	5,030,371	2 188,031	'360 (8 25)
1830	3,660,758	6 876,620	3,215,862	'347 (1-3)
1840	4,632,640	9,557,065	4,924,425	'305 (8-25)

From this table it will be seen that the proportion of the free white population of the slave States to that of the free has been growing less and less since the present Government was formed, until they now number less than one-third. One third is probably a just proportion of population, for which they should be represented in the apportionment of officers, and this basis we have adopted in the following tables, in apportioning to each section its just ratio.

2. PROPORTION OF COMMERCE, &c.

[By the Census of 1840.]

	South.	North.	Excess of N'th.
Newspapers, and Periodicals	470	2 341	1,871
Printing Offices	401	1,151	750
Binderies	73	374	301
Agri'ral Pro'cts	$522 891,344,	$562,391,157,	$40,609,813
Manufactory	83,935,742,	334 630 690,	250 694 948
Mines	11,510 933,	44,244,863,	32,733 930
Fisharies	1 519,188,	10,070 725,	8,551,537
Products of Forest	4,899,168,	12,677,905,	7,828,737
Capital invested in Dom'tic Com'rce	142,784,512,	248,087,910,	105,303.398

And still larger than in the table of population, does the disproportion between the free and slave States in commerce, wealth, intelligence, appear from this table.

With these facts in mind, we are prepared to take up the principal object of this article, namely, to show the control of the slave power in the distribution of the offices of the general Government.

N. B. It will be noticed in the tables of appointments, that the South greatly preponderates in all the officers for the last twenty-five years, since the policy of the Government has been clearly marked as favouring the perpetuation and extension of Slavery. Since that time the monopoly of the slave power is seen in filling all offices with slaveholders or the most decided Pro-Slavery men in the North.—The first appointments after the organization of the Government, were more in accordance with justice to each section, and from Southern men of more devoted Anti-Slavery character, like Washington, Jefferson, and Wirt.

1. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The President stands at the head of the Government, to execute the will of other departments. He is the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and has at his disposal the appointment of some 40,000 office holders. These are all the servants of the President—not the servants of the people—they do *his* bidding, or he can displace them, to fill their places with more servile tools. The power of the Executive is almost unlimited—and how it has been exercised for the benefit of Slavery, whose creatures our Presidents for the last few administrations have been—let the survilance of the North, and the late high handed aggressions of the slave power answer.

TABLE 1—PRESIDENTS.

		South.	North.
Geo. Washington, Va., from	1789 to 1797,	8 yrs.	
John Adams, Mass., "	1797 to 1801,		4 yrs.
Thomas Jefferson, Va., 1 "	1801 to 1809,	8 yrs.	

(1) A Virginia slaveholder, yet the author of the first Slavery restriction Proviso. The democracy of Jefferson, unlike the democracy of our Southern statesman, and most of the Northern statesmen of the present day, was Anti-Slavery democracy.

		South.	North.
James Madison Va., "	1809 to 1817,	8 yrs.	
James Monroe, Va., "	1817 to 1825,	8 yrs.	
John Q. Adams, Mass., "	1825 to 1829,		4 yrs.
Andrew Jackson, Tenn., "	1829 to 1837,	8 yrs.	
Martin Van Buren, N.Y.2 "	1837 to 1841,		4 yrs.
Wm. H. Harrison, Ohio, 3 "	1841,		1 mo.

(2) Elected under the *soubriquet* of "the Northern man with Southern principles;" and since he has spurned the cognomen and consents to run again for the same office as a Northern man with Liberty principles, he is branded by his former associates as a traitor.

(3) A Virginian by birth. Was supported for the Presidency, as a man "sound to the core" for the preservation of the slave system. In a letter to J. Lyon, of Virginia, dated June 1, 1840, he says—"My friends truly assert that I have done and suffered more to support Southern rights than any person north of Mason and Dixon's line."

		South.	North.
John Tyler, Va., "	1841 to 1845,	3 yrs. 11 mos.	
James K. Polk, Tenn, "	1845 to 1848,	4 yrs.	
Total		47 11m.	12 1m

South over the North 35 10 months.
South 7, (Presidents,) North 4,
South over its just proportion, 28 years.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

The Vice President, on the contingency of the death, removal or declination of the President, fills his place at the head of the Government. One instance has already occurred of this officer becoming Chief Magistrate, as in the case of John Tyler, a Virginia slaveholder, who filled the executive Chair of General Harrison, the fourth Northern President. The Vice President is by virtue of his office, the President of the Senate, and in this position, as well as in the chance reversion of the Presidency, fills an important political station of influence. As most of the Vice Presidents have been northern men, the Senate has found a way to curtail their power for the time being, by electing their standing and important committees by ballot.

It will be seen below that the North, in one instance, has had its full share. Well might the South afford to be just to the North in the Vice-Presidency, after having taken the lion's share of forty-eight years of the Presidency to the North twelve.

TABLE 2—VICE PRESIDENTS.

		South.	North.
John Adams Mass., from	1789 to 1797.		8 yrs.
Thomas Jefferson Va., "	1797 to 1801,	4 yrs.	
Aaron Burr N. Y, "	1801 to 1805,		4 yrs.
Geo. Clinton do. "	1805 to 1809,	4yrs.	
Geo. Clinton do. "	1809 to 1813,		4 yrs
Eldridge Gerry Mass., "	1813 to 1817,		4 yrs
Daniel Tompkins N.Y. "	1817 to 1825,		8 yrs
John C. Calhoun S. C. "	1825 to 1829,	4 yrs.	
John C. Calhoun do. "	1829 to 1833,	4 yrs.	
Martin Van Buren N.Y. "	1833 to 1837,		4 yr.
R. M. Johnson Ky. "	1837 to 1841,	4 yrs.	
John Tyler Va., } "	1841		1 month
W. P. Mangum S.C } "	1841 to 1845,	3 yrs.	11 m'ths
Geo. M. Dallas Pa.,(1) "	1845 to 1849,		4 yrs
Total		20	40 yrs.

North over South 12 years.
South 5 Vice Presidents—the North 7. South one third its just proportion.

(1) Has declared himself opposed to the Wilmot Proviso. Out of the last seven elections, he is one of the two northern men who have held the office. Out of the last twenty-three years the North has held the office only eight years.

SECRETARIES OF STATE.

The office of the Secretary of State is the most important one in the cabinet. The management of all our relations with foreign countries, the instruction of ambassadors, ministers, envoy's commissioners, the formation of treaties, &c. are under his supervision, directed by the President. Our foreign relations are very essential to the preservation of Slavery, as its extension depends upon the external as well as internal relations. A foreign market for its productions must be provided, as well as its protection against foreign influences, for the civilized world is arrayed against it—and hence the slave power is eagle-eyed for its interest in this department of the Government,

TABLE 3—SECRETARIES OF STATE.

Administration		South.	North.
1st. *Thomas Jefferson* Va.,	1789 to 1794	4 4ms.	
" *Edmond Randolph* Va.,	1794 to 1795	1 11ms.	
" Timothy Pickering Pa.,	1795 to 1796		1 3ms.
2nd. Timothy Pickering Pa.,	1796 to 1800		3 2ms
" *John Marshall* Va.,	1800 to 1801	10ms.	
3d. *James Madison* Va.,	1801 to 1809	8 yrs.	
4th. *Robert Smith* Md.,	1809 to 1811	2 8ms.	
" *James Monroe* (1) Va.,	1811 to 1817	5 4ms.	
5th. John Q. Adams Mass.,	1817 to 1825		8 yrs.
6th. *Henry Clay* (2) Ky.,	1825 to 1829	4 yrs.	
7th. Martin Van Buren N.Y.	1829 to 1831		2 yrs.
" *Edward Livingston* La.	1831 to 1833	2 yrs.	
" *Louis M'Lean* Del.,	1833 to 1834	1 yr.	
" *John Forsyth* 3 Geo.,	—— to 1840	6 yrs.	
9th. Daniel Webster(4) Mass	1840 to 1842		2 1mo.
" *Hugh Legare* S. C.	1842 ——	2ms.	
" *Abel P. Upshur* 5 Va., }	—— 1843	9ms.	
" *J. Nelson* Va., acting. }	1842		
" *John C. Calhoun* 6 S. C.	1844 to 1845	1 yr.	
10th James Buchanan 7 Pa.,	1845 to 1849		4 yrs.
Total		39	20 6mo.

Tha South 15 appointment—the north 6.
The South over its just proportion 19 years.

(1) During the last war, some of the slaves of our "Southern brethren" escaped to the British vessels on the coast and in the Southern rivers. A Southern administration instructed the commissioners, sent in 1814 to negotiate a treaty of peace, to conclude such a treaty without securing the northern interests, *for the protection of which the war had been ostensibly commenced*; but not to do so, unless Britain would consent to restore the slaves or make compensation for them. "The negroes taken from the Southern States should be returned to their owners or *paid* for at their full value." This stipulation is included "in the conditions on which you are to insist in the proposed negotiations." *Letter of instruction from Mr. Monroe, Jan. 28th* 1814. American State Papers, Vol. 9, page 364.

(2) June 10th, 1826, Mr. Clay instructed Mr. Gallatin, our minister to England, to propose a restoration of slaves escaping from the West Indies to the United States, if England would reciprocate the favour by restoring slaves escaping from the United States to Canada. The proposal was promptly rejected.

In 1842, he boasted that his slaves were "sleek and fat." He was the author of the Missouri Compromise the greatest successful project for the extension of Slavery in the existence of our Government.

(3) This Southern secretary considered the settlement of the North Eastern boundary as a matter of secondary importance, when compared with the claims of southern masters for shipwrecked slaves—thus freed by the act of God. He says in a letter of instructions in 1836, to our slaveholding ambassador in England. "The most immediately pressing of the matters with which the United States Legation at London is now charged, is the claim of certain American citizens against Great Britian for a number of slaves, the cargoes of three vessels wrecked on British islands in the Atlantic." Among his property, sold at Washington city, after his death, in Feb. 1843, was a "MAN of excellent character." He brought $800.

(4) This gentlemen well earned his reputation by his pledge to the South at Richmond, Va., in 1840. "There is," said Mr. Webster, "one perpetual outcry in all the administration papers from Baltimore, south, admonishing the people of the south that their own state Governments and the property they hold under them are not secure if they admit a Northern man to hold any considerable share in the administration of the Government. You all know that this is the general cry. In regard to Slavery. I hold that Congress has no right to interfere in any manner whatever with that subject." [Immense cheering.]

(5) Opened the negotiation for the annexation of Texas.

(6) Placed in the office of State after the death of Mr. Upshur, for the express purpose of securing his experience, his skill in management, and his vast influence for the annexation of Texas. He avowed in his correspondence with the British Minister that the object of annexation was to preserve the institution of Slavery both in Texas and the United States.

(7) A few years ago, in a letter to a Southern gentleman, declared the "democracy of the North to be the natural ally of the South." Since, in accordance with this sentiment, pledged himself against the restriction of Slavery.

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

It is the duty of this officer to control the financial affairs of the Government—and holds, under the direction of the President, the money power. He is therefore to provide "ways and means" to keep up the sinking fortunes of Slavery's overwasteful existence. This officer, a slaveholder, has had the disposal of the two hundred millions distributed among Slavery's dependants in the Mexican war.

TABLE 4—SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

Administration		South.	North.
1st. Alex. Hamilton N. Y.	1789 to 1795		5 5ms.
" Oliver Wolcott Ct.	1795 to 1797		2 1mo.
2nd. Oliver Wolcott Ct.,	1797 to 1800		2 10m.
" S. Dexter Mass,	1800 to 1801		2ms.
3d. S. Dexter "	1801 to 1802		10ms.
" A. Gallatin Penn.,	1802 to 1809		4 2ms.
4th. A. Gallatin Penn.,	1809 to 1814		4 11ms
" *G. W. Campbell* Tenn.	1814 to ——	8ms.	
" A. J Dallas Pa.,	1814 to 1817		2 5ms.
5th. *W H Crawford* Geo.	1817 to 1825	8 yrs.	
6th. Richard Rush Pa.,	1825 to 1829		4 yrs.
7th. S. D. Ingham Pa.,	1829 to 1831		1 6ms.
" W. J. Duane Pa.,	1831 to 1833		2 yrs.
" *R. B. Taney* Md.,	1833 to ——	6ms.	
" Levi Woodbury(1) N.H.	—— 1837		4 yrs.
9th. Thomas Ewing Ohio,	1841 ——		4ms.
" W. Forward Pa.,	1841 to 1844		3 3 ns.
" *Geo M. Bibb* Ky.,	1844 to 1845	5ms.	
10th. *R. J. Walker* Miss.	1845 to 1849	4 yrs.	
Total		13 7m	45 11m.

North 12 appointment—South 5.
North over its just proportion 5 years and 11 months.

(1) One of the modern "northern men with Southern principles." When the agitation for the selection of a candidate for the Presidency was going on, it was declared by a Georgia paper that Levi Woodbury, was the only northern man the South would take unpledged on the Wilmot Proviso.

SECRETARIES OF WAR.

The Secretary of War has the control of the army of the United States, under the direction of the President. The South at the time of the last war, saw the necessity of exercising control at that critical time, over this department, and consequently John Armstrong, a northern man, who was not quite as suppliant as was needful, was driven out of the department; and a southern man appointed in his place. The misfortunes of our arms on our Canadian frontier, is principally attributed to the intrigues of Southern men. The invasion and conquest of Canada was not entertained in too serious a light, as it might have resulted in a *Northern annexation* and the acquisition of free States; a supposition that could not be tolerated. When the slave power thought proper, in 1837, to make the United States break its treaty with the Indians of Florida, and drove them from their homes and native land, because they had become a covert to the fugitives, and would not give up their wives and children to the Georgia and Carolina dealers in human flesh, it again had the control of the department. So again in 1847--48, when it became equally necessary for the continued prosperity of the slave system to wage war upon Mexico, and to acquire new slave territory, the department was filled by—a northern man—but by the hunker of the hunkers, one of the most suppliant knee benders of the North.—Wm. L. Marcy.

There are fifty-nine military posts and arsenals in the United States, aside from those in Texas and the newly acquired territory from Mexico, and only twenty-five of these are in the North. The large majority of the soldiers are from the North, the larger majority of the officers from the slave States.

TABLE 5—SECRETARIES OF WAR.

Administration,		South.	North.
1st. Henry Knox Mass.,	1789 to 1895		5 4ms.
" T. Pickering Pa.,	1795 to 1796		1 yr.
" *Jas. M'Henry* Md.,	1796 to 1797	1 2ms.	
2nd *Jas. M'Henry* Md.,	1797 to 1799	3 2ms.	
" S. Dexter Mass.,	1799 to 1801		9ms.
" R. Griswold Ct.,	1801 ——		1m.
3d. H. Dearborn Mass.,	1801 to 1809		8yrs.
4th. Wm. Eustis Mass.,	1809 to 1813		3 10ms.
" J. Armstrong N. Y.	1813 to 1814		1 8ms.
" *James Monroe* Va.,	1814 to 1815	6ms.	
" *W. H. Crawford* Ga.,	1815 to 1817	2 yrs.	
5th. *Isaac Shelby* Ky.,	1817 ——	9 ms.	
" *J. C. Calhoun* S. C.,	1817 to 1825	7 3ms.	
6th. *Jas. Barbour* Va	1825 to 1828	3 2ms.	
" P. B. Porter N. Y.,	1828 to 1829		10ms.
7th. *J. H. Eaton* Tenn ,	1829 to 1831	2 5ms.	
" L. Cass (1) Mich.,	1831 to 1837		5 7ms.
8th. *J. R. Poinsett* S. C.,	1837 to 1841	4 yrs.	
9th. *John Bell* (Tenn.,)	1841 ——	5 ms.	
" J. C. Spencer 2 N. Y.,	1841 to 1843		1 5ms.
10th. James M. Porter, Pa., rejected by Senate,	1843 to 1844		1 yr.
11th. Wm. Wilkins Pa.,	1844 to 1845		1 2ms.
18th. W. L. Marcy N Y (3)	1845 to 1849		4 yrs.
Total		24 9ms	34 8ms.

North over the South 9 11ms.
North 13 appointment—South 10.
South over its just proportion 4 years 9 months.

(1) Defended the project for the admission of slavery into the Northwest Territory, in violation of the Ordinance of '87, in a series of letters published in Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1820. While Minister at Paris, broke up the treaty with the European powers for the suppression of the African slave trade. In 1846 favoured the Wilmot Proviso, but in 1848, "changed," and declared it to be unconstitutional, when he received the nomination for the Presidency. Wrote to a friend in Virginia, that he would veto a bill for the prohibition of Slavery should he be elected President.

(2) In 1841, reccommended a large increase of the standing army of the United States to defend southern Slavery against an invasion of black troops from the emancipated islands of the West Indies.

(3) In 1836, while Governor of New York, recommended the passage of a law against the agitation of the Anti-Slavery question, and for the punishment of those who shall be guilty of acts calculated to excite insurrection and rebellion in a sister State.

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY.

The secretary of the Navy has the control of the principal instrument of national defence, this nursury of the pet sons of the aristocracy. The South furnish officers to command, and the North soldiers to obey." The Navy is full of slave-holders sons, from midshipman to Commodore. One of the Secretaries, a few years ago, recommended that two hundred millions of dollars be expended in enlarging the Navy for the purpose of protecting the southern coasts against foreign invasion invited by the "hostile elements of the domestic institutions of the South."

The Navy over which this officer has control, now consists of eleven ship of the line, seventeen frigates, seven steamers, and smaller vessels, making in all eighty-eight, carrying 2057 guns.

More than three-fifths of the commanding officers of the Navy are from the slave States. It will be observed that since the abolition of Slavery in the West India Islands, the South has kept the department in her own hands. Mr. Adams opposed the increase of the Navy, reccommended by Secretary Upshur, on the ground of the intention of the South to use it for the protection of the coastwise slave trade.

TABLE 6—SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY.

1st. Adm.—no Navy department.		South.	North.
2nd. *Benj. Stoddard* Md,	1797 to 1801	4yrs.	
3d. *Benj. Stoddard* "	1801 to 1802	11ms.	
" *Robert Smith* "	1802 to 1809	7 1m.	
4th. *P. Hamilton* S. C.	1809 to 1813	4 yrs.	
" Wm. Jones Pa.,	1813 to 1814		1 10m.
" B. Crowninshield Mass.	1814 to 1817		2 2ms.
5th. B. Crowninshield "	1817 to 1818		1 8ms.
" S. Thompson N. Y.,	1818 to 1823		5 1m.
" S. L. Southard N. J.,	1823 to 1825		2 yrs.
6th. S. L. Southard N. J.,	1825 to 1829		4 yrs.
7th. *John Branch* N. C.,	1829 to 1831	2 6ms.	
" L. Woodbury N. H.,	1831 to 1833		2 9ms.
" M. Dickinson N. J.,	1834 to 1838		3 9ms.
8th. M. Dickinson N. J.,	1837 to 1838		3 9ms.
" J. K. Paulding (1) N Y.	1838 to 1841		2 9ms.
9th. *Geo. E. Badger* N C.,	1841 ——	6ms.	
" *A. P, Upsher* Va.,	1841 to 1843	2 yrs.	
" David Henshaw Mass.,	1844 ——	1mo.	
" *T. W. Gilmer* Va.,	1844 ——	11ms.	
" *John Y. Mason* Va.,	1844 to 1845	11ms.	
10th Gen. Bancroft (2) Mass.	1845 to 1846		1yr.
" *J. Y. Mason*, Va.,	1846 to 1849	3 yrs.	
Total		22 11m.	27 3m.

North over the South 4 years 4 months.
North 12 appointment—South 10.
South over its just proportion 6 years.

(1) Wrote a book in defence of Slavery. In 1818 he published a work in which were descriptions of southern scenes, and strong denunciations of Slavery. Just before he was put into the Navy department, a new edition of his book was published, in which all the Anti-Slavery passages were carefully expunged, and in their place appeared denunciations of Abolitionists.

(2) Formerly expressed himself in opposition to the continuance of Slavery in the District of Columbia, but like his illustrious predecessor, Paulding, found it convenient to eat his own words.

POST MASTER GENERALS.

The Post Office Department, like that of the Treasury, requires great business capacity, and unwearied attention to the minute details, and much hard labour. Until the late agitation of the moral elements of the North against Slavery, southern men were content to leave this department in the hands of the hard working men of the North. The post-office is the door of access to the southern mind, and that must be well guarded. Slave-holders have therefore been at the head of this department, who have countenanced the plundering of the mails, and the prying into private correspondence, to detect anything incendiary, that might chance pass South of Mason and Dixon's line. It has been found necessary also to exercise the extensive appointing power of this department, to repress the rising spirit of the North. The publishers of Anti-Slavery papers know very well the power of a slaveholder at the head of this department, as exercised over his menials in office, who magnify their official authority in sending off newspapers in a wrong direction, in omitting to mail them at the propper hours, in refusing to deliver them to subscribers, and ordering them stopped without authority, and in giving the patronage of the department to favourite journals, contrary to law. These petty annoyances are the influences of the slave power, over its northern tools in this department, designed to keep even the northern voters ignorant of their machinations. It will, ere long, teach the people the necessity of taking the appointment of these officers, and all others, out of the hands of the executive, and electing them themselves. They want officers to be their servants, and not the servants of a slaveholding administration.

The South is delinquent annually above half a million of dollars in the revenue of the department, which is made up a surplus from the free states, showing a difference of a million of dollars between the free and slave sections of the country. This is one of the hundred ways in which the North pays the expenses necessary to keep up this institution, which ever costs more than it earns.

TABLE 7—POST MASTER GENERALS.

Adm.		South.	North.
1st. Samuel Osgood Mass.	1788 to 1794		5 2ms.
" T. Pickering Pa.,	1794 to 1795		3ms.
" *J. Habersham* Ga.,	1795 to 1797	2 1mo.	
2nd *J. Habersham* "	1797 to 1801	4 yrs.	
3d *J. Habersham* "	1801 to 1802	10ms.	
" Gideon Granger Ct.,	1802 to 1809		7 2ms.
4th Gideon Granger "	1809 to 1814		5 yrs.
" R. J. Meigs Ohio,	1814 to 1817		3 yrs.
5th R. J. Meigs "	1817 to 1823		6 3ms.
" John M'Lean "	1823 to 1825		1 9ms.
6th John M'Lean "	1825 to 1829	4 yrs.	
7th *Wm. P. Berry* Ky,	1829 to 1835	6 yrs.	
" *Amos Kendall* (1) "	1835 to 1837	2 yrs.	
8th *Amos Kendall* "	1837 to 1840	3 2ms.	
" John M. Niles Ct.	1840 ——		10ms.
9th Francis Granger N Y.	1841 ——		6ms.
" *C. A. Wickliffe* Ky.,	1841 to 1845	3 6ms.	
10th *C Johnson* (2) Tenn.,	1845 to 1849	4 yrs.	
Total		25 7m	33 11m.

North over the South 8 4 ms.
North 10 appointments—South 8.
South over its just proportion 5 years 7 months.

(1) Sanctoned the plandering of the mail for the purpose of prohibiting the circulation of newspapers and publications hostile to Slavery.

(2) Withdrew from the editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the Post Office advertising, because that paper advocated the Wilmot Proviso.

ATTORNIES GENERAL.

The Attorney General of the United States is the confidential adviser of the President, and the heads of the departments. He appears for the United States in all cases in the supreme court to which they are a party.

TABLE 8.—ATTORNIES GENERAL.

		South.	North.
Edmond Randolph, Va. from	1789 to 1794	5 yrs	
Wm. Bradford, Pa. "	1794 to 1795		1 yr.
Charles H. Lee, Va. "	1795 to 1801	6 yrs	
Levi Lincoln, Mass. "	1801 to 1805		4 yrs
Robert Smith, Md. "	1805 to 1806	1 yr.	
J. Breckenridge, Ky. "	1806 to 1807	1 yr.	
C. A. Rodney, Del. "	1807 to 1811	4 yrs	
Wm. Pinckney, Md. "	1811 to 1814	3 yrs	
Richard Rush, Pa. "	1814 to 1817		3 yrs
Wm. Wirt, Va. "	1817 to 1829	12 yrs	
J. M. Berrien, Ga. "	1829 to 1831	2 yrs	
Roger B. Taney, Md. "	1831 to 1834	4 yrs	
B. F. Butler, N. Y. "	1834 to 1838		4 yrs
Felix Grundy, Tenn, "	1838 to 1840	2 yrs	
H. D. Gilpin, Pa. "	1840 to 1841		1 yr.
John J. Crittenden, Ky, "	1841	6ms.	
H. S. Legare, S. C. "	1841 to 1843	2 yrs	
John Nelson, Md. "	1843 to 1845	6ms.	
John Y. Mason, Va. "	1845 to 1846	1 yr.	
Nathan Clifford, Me. "	1846 to 1848		2 yrs
Isaac Toncy, Ct. "	1848 to 1849		1 yr.
Total		44 yrs	16 yrs

South over the North 28 years,
South over its just proportion 24 years.

2. LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The legislative department is made up of a Senate, and House of Representatives, and is denominated Congress. Each State is allowed two Senators. Delaware, the smallest State of the Union, with her one representative, has as much political power in this department of the Government as New York with her thirty-four representatives. By this disproportion of power, the slaveholders are enabled to control the legislative department, or check any Anti-Slavery action that might originate in the other house. There are now 60 Senators representing 30 States, of which the South has 30, one half, whereas, if represented in proportion to population, she would have only 20. Out of the original thirteen States which entered into the Union, only six, are now slave States. So that the slaveholders have gained in this immense political power through the Senate, nine States, or eighteen votes, by the acquisition of, and the extension of Slavery to, free territory. It is the same principle and the same acquisition of power which they are striving to bring into the ascendancy in the new Mexican territory.

The acquisition of the power, and the extent of it, will be seen in the following table:

TABLE 1—SENATORIAL REPRESENTATIVES.

From				South.	over	North.	over
From 1789	to admis of	Verm't	1791	12		16	4
1791	"	*Ky*	1792	14		16	2
1792	"	*Tenn*	1796	16		16	
1796	"	Ohio	1803	16		18	2
1803	"	*Louis*	1812	18		18	
1812	"	Indiana	1815	18		20	2
1815	"	*Miss*	1817	20		20	
1817	"	Illinois	1818	20		22	2
1818	"	*Ala*	1818	22		22	
1819	"	Maine	1820	22		24	2
1820	"	*Mo*	1821	24		24	
1821	"	*Arkan*	1836	26	2	24	
1836	"	Mich	1837	26		26	
1837	"	*Florida*	1845	28	2	26	
1845	"	*Texas*	1845	30	4	26	
1845	"	Iowa	1846	30	2	28	
1846	"	Wis	1848	30		30	

From the foregoing it will be seen that Slavery, claiming that it has an equal share with Freedom to the earth which God has made for the dwelling place of man, has managed to possess itself of the free territory, and stand on an equal footing in the representation of States. The free States start with four majority and lead the slave States until the admission of Arkansas, when the Slave Power in the States is numerically ahead either from two to four or an even balance. She has accomplished this by laying her iron grasp upon free territory—as she now seeks to do upon territory beyond the Rocky mountains. Should she succeed in this attempt, then will that territory, fairest on the face of the earth, be eternally consigned to chains and Slavery, and her dominion forever triumphant over the free States.

PRESIDENTS OF THE SENATE PRO TEM.

The President Pro-tempore is elected to fill the place of the Vice President, on the contingency of his death, or being called to the Executive Chair, or other cause which may remove him from his station as the presiding officer of the Senate. The President pro tem may become President of the United States, on the death of the President and the Vice President.

TABLE 2—PRESIDENTS PRO-TEM OF THE SENATE.

		South.	North.
John Langdon, N. H. from	1789 to 1791		2 yrs
Richard H. Lee, Va. "	1791 to 1792	1 yr.	
John Langdon, N. H. "	1792 to 1793		1 yr.
Ralph Izard, S. C. "	1793 to 1894	1 yr.	
Henry Tazwell, Va. "	1794 to 1795	1 yr.	
S. Livermore, N. H. "	1795 to 1796		1 yr.
Wm. Bringham, Pa. "	1796 to 1797		1 yr.
Wm. Bradford, R. I. "	1797 to 1798		1 yr.
T. Sedgwick, Mass. "	1797 to 1798		1 yr.
James Ross, Pa. "	1798 to 1799		1 yr.
S. Livermore, N. H "	1899 to 1800		1 yr.
James Hillhouse, Ct. "	1800 to 1801		1 yr.
Abm. Baldwin, Ga. "	1801 to 1802	1 yr.	
S. R. Bradley, Vt. "	1802 to 1803		1 yr.
John Brown, Ky. "	1803 to 1804	1 yr.	
Jesse Franklin, N. C. "	1803 to 1804	1 yr.	
Joseph Anderson, Tenn. "	1804 to 1805	1 yr.	
Samuel Smith, Md. "	1805 to 1807	2 yrs	
S. R. Bradley, Vt. "	1807 to 1808		1 yr.
John Milledge, Ga "	1808 to 1809	1 yr.	
Andrew Gregg, Pa. "	1809 to 1810		1 yr.
John Gaillard, S. C. "	1810 to 1811	1 yr.	
John Pope, Ky "	1810 to 1811	1 yr.	
Wm. H. Crawford, Ga. "	1811 to 1813	2 yrs	
John Gaillard, S. C. "	1813 to 1818	5 yrs	
James Barbour, Va. "	1818 to 1820	2 yrs	
John Gaillard, S. C. "	1820 to 1825	5 yrs	
Nathan Macon, N. C. "	1825 to 1828	3 yrs	
Samuel Smith, Md. "	1828 to 1831	3 yrs	
L. W. Tazwell, Va. "	1831 to 1832	1 yr.	
Hugh L White, Tenn. "	1832 to 1833	1 yr.	
Geo. Poindexter, Miss. "	1833 to 1834	1 yr.	
John Tyler, Va. "	1834 to 1835	1 yr.	
Wm. R. King, Ala. "	1835 to 1841	6 yrs	
S. L. Southard, N. J. "	1841 to 1843		2 yrs
W. P. Mangum, N. C. "	1843 to 1845	2 yrs	
David R. Atchison, Mo. "	1845 to 1847	2 yrs	
David R. Atchison, Mo. "	1847 to 1849	2 yrs	
Total		48 yrs	15 yrs

South over North 23 years.
North 13, South 25 appointments.
South over its just proportion 23 years.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The lower of House of Congress is made up of Representatives directly from the people, elected by them, and on a ratio of population. The Constitution which fixes the terms of representation, provides that three fifths of the slaves, which are reckoned only as property at the South, as the North counts its horses and cattle, shall be counted as persons. Thus, while a population of 70,000 Northern freemen, with 14,000 voters, owning $280,000 of property in cattle and horses, can send only one Representative to Congress, a Congressional district in the slave States, with 28,800 free population, casting 5,600 votes, and owning $280,000 of property in 70,000 slaves, can also be represented by one Representative. And thus are the 5,600 voters of the slave States made as good, and are permitted to wield as much political power, as the 14,000 free Northern freemen. This representation, says the Hon. John Quincy Adams, "is a grant of power, enormous, preponderating power, to the owners of slaves,—not a representation of the slaves, but of their deadliest enemies—instead of being a representation of persons, it is a representation of property, of a peculiar *odious* description of property,—utterly repugnant to the vital principle of popular representation—to the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence—to the letter and spirit of the Constitution—to the liberties of the whole people of the free States. It [illegible] privileged order of feudal lords in disguise; linked together in one common interest hostile to that of the whole community, and armed them with a controlling, over-ruling power over the legislative councils and executive authority of the Union." So spoke an ex-President of the United States. This slave representation is the back bone of the slave power—by it they not only rule their slaves, but rule us.

This representation of property is a power given to oppress and crush the very beings which are the source of its power. The North is allowed no representative of property—but in the apportionment of 1820 there were 20; in 1830, 25; in 1840, 20 representatives based wholly upon this "*odious* description of property." We have not room to exhibit in these tables the representative apportionment for each decade, so we give only that of 1840, the one now in force, and by which we must expect to have the Slavery extension question of 1848, settled forever.

Besides the direct representation of property, other advantages have been taken to increase the power of the South and curtail that of the North. Laboured and cool calculations seem to have been made to select that number as the ratio, which would add the most to the slave representation. The ratio under the census of 1830, was 47,700, and no representation for fractions. This gave 69,768 as the aggregata of unrepresented fractions at the North over those of the South. By the law of 1842, apportioning the representation under the census of 1840, the number of 70,680 after much calculating and manœuvering, was selected, allowing a representation for a fraction that should exceed half the ratio.

As a general rule it is certainly just that the ratio should be adopted, which will leave the smallest amount of unrepresented fractions. This rule was totally disregarded in the selection of the ratio of 1843, and in its place, a purely sectional one was adopted. This will be made manifest by the following tables:

NON-SLAVEHOLDING STATES.

	Reps. under ratio of 70 000	Fractions,	Reps under ratio of 79,560	Fractions,
Maine	7	11,793	7	7,033
New Hampshire	4	4,573	4	1 853
Vermont	4	11 948	4	9,228
Massachusetts	11	37,599 R.	10	20 899
Connecticut	4	29 971	4	27,151
Rhode Island	2	38 828 R.	2	38,148 R.
New York	35	48 919 R.	34	25 790
New Jersey	5	23 036	5	19 636
Pennsylvania	25	44,007 R.	24	27,587
Ohio	22	49 065 R.	21	35 185
Michigan	3	2 267	3	227
Indiana	10	55 864 R.	10	49,744 R.
Illinois	7	56,050 R.	7	51 970 R.
Delaware	1	7 063	1	6 363
	149	90 631	136	181,161

SLAVEHOLDING STATES.

	Reps. under ratio of 70 000	Fractions,	Reps under ratio of 79,560	Fractions,
Maryland	6	14 124	6	10,044
Virginia	15	10 202	15	2
North Carolina	9	25 092	9	18,972
South Carolina	7	43,582 R.	7	39,502 R.
Georgia	8	19,014	8	13,573
Alabama	7	69,343 R.	7	65 263 R.
Mississippi	4	17,566	4	14,846
Louisiana	4	5,030	4	2,310
Tennessee	11	55 936 R.	11	39,186 R.
Kentucky	10	6,924	10	124
Missouri	5	10 400	5	7,004
Arkansas	1	19 600	1	18 920
	87	127,952	87	35,796
Total	227	218,583	223	266,957

The ratio of 70,000 would naturally suggest itself as the simplest, and it is evident that the odd ratio, 70,680, could not have been selected, unless from some design; and this design must have been to secure the fairest and the fullest representation on the whole to favour a particular interest, at the expense of this sound principle. But; the table shows that the former could not have been the object; for, the unrepresented population under the ratio of 70,680 is nearly 50,000 greater than under that of 70,000, and the disproportion between the two sections of the Union is inordinate; the unrepresented population of the free States amounting to 181,161, of the slave States 85,796, nearly one hundred thousand less!

The conclusion is irresistible, that this particular ratio was selected with the express view to aggrandize or favour a particular interest. An examination of the table has already satisfied every reader of unprejudiced mind, that this interest was Slavery—the slaveholders, by the aid of some yankee contrivance, played an admirably ingenious game. And by this game the North are deprived of 4 representatives while the South gains none.

The ratio of 70,000, if adopted would not only have left the unrepresented population at 48,000 less that the ratio 70,680, but it would have added four Representatives to the non-slaveholding, and taken away not one Representative from the slaveholding States! See the table. New-York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Ohio, instead of having unrepresented fractions of 25,799, 27,687, 20,899 and 35,185, respectively, would have had fractions large enough to entitle them each to an additional Representative. No other State would have lost a single Representative, as the representation from the slaveholding States would have been untouched, and, as the total amount of unrepresented population would have been less under this ratio of 70 000, its rejection and the adoption of the 70,680 ratio, was a gross violation of Democratic Principle, and a positive act of injustice to Massachusetts. New York and Pennsylvania, instigated by the same spirit which is endeavouring to exclude free labour from the rich free territory acquired from Mexico.

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE.

The Speaker has the appointment of the Standing Committees of the House. It is regarded as the most influential office in the legislative department; and is strongly contended for by the leading parties in Congress. The election of the Speaker settles the character of the proceedings of that session.—The machinery of Congressional doings depends on the constructson of its Committees. No Anti-Slavery man has been permitted to hold this office, and the slaveholders usually put some of their own members into the Speaker's Chair. Winthrop the present was elected Speaker, by a balance of Southern Democratic votes, as the most reliable man for the South. His appointment of the Committe on the District of Columbia, killed all action for the abolition of Slavery there for this Congress, though some members suppose that measures might have been carried in this Congress.

TABLE 1.—SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE.

Cong. No.	Ses.			South.	North.
1	3	1789 to 1791	F. A. Mahlenburg Pa.		2yrs
2	2	1791 to 1793	John Trumbull Ct.		2yrs
3	2	1793 to 1795	F. Muhlenbug Pa.		2yrs
4	2	1593 to 1797	Jona. Dayton N. J.		2yra
5	3	1797 to 1799	Jona. Dayton N. J.		2yrs
6	2	1799 to 1801	T. Sedgwick Mass.		2yrs
7	2	1801 to 1803	*Nathan Macon* N. C.	2yrs	
8	2	1803 to 1805	*Nathan Macon* N. P.	2yrs	
9	2	1805 to 1807	*Nathan Macon* N. C.	2yrs	
10	2	1807 to 1809	J. B. Varnum Mass.		2yrs
11	3	1809 to 1811	J. B. Varnum Mass.		2yrs
12	2	1811 to 1813	*Henry Clay* Ky.	2yrs	
13	1	1813 to 1813	*Henry Clay* Ky.	1-2yr	
"	2	1813 to 1815	*Landon Sheves* S. C.	1 1-2yr.	
14	2	1815 to 1817	*Henry Clay* Ky.	2yrs	
15	2	1817 to 1819	*Henry Clay* Ky.	2yrs	
16	1	1819 to 1820	*Henry Clay* Ky.	1yr.	
"	2	1820 to 1821	J. W. Taylor N. Y.		1yr
17	2	1821 to 1823	*P. P. Barbour* Va.	2yrs	
18	2	1823 to 1825	*Henry Clay* Ky.	2yrs	
19	2	1825 to 1827	J. W. Taylor N. Y.		2yrs
20	2	1827 to 1829	*A. Stevenson* Va.	2yrs	
21	2	1829 to 1831	*A Stevenson* Va.	2yrs	
22	2	1831 to 1833	*A. Stevenson* Va.	2yrs	
23	1	1833 to 1834	*A. Stevenson* Va.	1yr.	
"	2	1834 to 1835	*John Bell* Tenn.	1yr.	
24	2	1835 to 1837	*Jas K. Polk* Tenn.	2yrs	
25	3	1837 to 1839	*Jas. K. Polk* Tenn.	2yrs	
26	2	1839 to 1841	*R. M. T. Hunter* Va.	2yrs	
27	3	1841 to 1843	*John White* Ky.	2yrs	
28	2	1843 to 1845	*John W. Jones* Va.	2yrs	
29	2	1845 to 1847	John W. Davis Ind.		2yrs
30	2	1847 to 1849	Robert Winthrop Mass.		2yrs
Total				37yrs	23yrs

South over the North 14 years.
South over its just proportion 17 years.
South 21 appointments—North 12.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

The legislative doings of Congress and the acts of the Executive, are all liable to be passed upon and settled by the Judicial Department, as the end of the law. How important that Slavery have proper legal sanctions! Its own servants must fill these high seats.

JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT.

CHIEF JUSTICES.

			South.	North.
John Jay, N. Y., from	1780 to 1796,			7
Wm. Cushing, Mass.	1796	1796		2m
Oliver Elsworth, Ct.,	1796	1801		5
John Marshall, Va.,	1801	1836	35	
Roger B. Taney, Md.	1836	1849	13	
			48	12 2

South over its proportion 22 years.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICES.

	Appointed.
John Rutledge, South Carolina,	1789
William Cushing, Massachusetts,	1789
Robert H. Harrison, Maryland,	1789
James Wilson, Pennsylvania,	1789
John Blair, Virginia,	1789
James Iredell, North Carolina,	1790
Thomas Johnson, Maryland,	1791
William Patterson, New Jersey,	1793
Samuel Chase, Maryland,	1796
Bushrod Washington, Virginia,	1798
William Johnson, South Carolina,	1804
Brockholst Livingston, New York,	1807
Thomas Todd, Virginia,	1807
Levi Lincoln, Massachusetts,	1811
Gabriel Duvall, Maryland,	1811
Joseph Story, Massachusetts,	1811
Smith Thompson, New York,	1823
Robert Trimble, Kentucky,	1826
John M'Lean, Ohio,	1829
Henry Baldwin, Pennsylvania,	1830
James M. Wayne, Georgia,	1835
Philip P. Barbour, Virginia,	1836
John Catron, Tennessee,	1837
John M Kinley, Alabama,	1837
Peter V. Daniel, Virginia,	1841
Samuel Wilson, New York,	1845
Levi Woodbury, New Hampshire,	1846
Robert C. Greier, Pennsylvania,	1846

South 16, North 12 Associate Judges.
South over its proportion 7.

The Court as now constituted, with a slaveholding Chief Justice, is composed of four men from the North, three of them incurably Pro-Slavery, and five from the South.

MINISTERS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

The appointments in the following catalogue embrace a full list of Ministers, plenipotentiary and extraordinary to the European Courts, to Mexico and South America, together with the Charge d'Affaires. The names of the latter are in italic.

GREAT BRITAIN.

South.	North.	Time when appointed.
	Gouvo'r Morris, N. J.	1789
Thomas Pickney, S. C.		1792
	John Jay, N. Y.	1794
	Rufus King, N. Y.	1794
James Monroe, Va.		1803
James Monroe, Va.		1806
William Pinckney, Md.		1806
do renewed		1802
	John Q. Adams, Mass.	1815
	Richard Rush, Pa.	1817
	Albert Gallatin, Pa.	1826
James Barbour, Va.		1828
Louis McLane, Md.		1830
	M. Van Buren, N. Y.	1831
	Aaron Vail, N. Y.	1832
Andrew Stevenson, Va.		1836
	Edward Everett, Mass.	1841
Louis McLane, Md.		1845
	Geo. Bancroft, Mass.	1847
South 9.	North 11.	

South over its proportion, 2.

FRANCE.

South.	North.	
William Short, Va.		1790
	G. Morris, N. J.	1792
James Monroe, Va.		1790
C. C. Pinckney, S. C.		1796
C. C. Pinckney, S. C. }	E. Gerry, Mass. }	1797
John Marshall, Va. }		
Patrick Henry, Va. }	Oliver Elsworth, Ct. }	1799
William Van Murray, Md. }		

Wm. R. Davis, N. C. 1799
James A. Bayard, Del. 1801
R. R. Livingston, N. Y. 1801
John Armstrong, N. Y. 1804
Joel Barlow, Ct. 1811
Wm. H. Crawford, Geo. 1815
Albert Gallatin, Pa. 1815
James Brown, La. 1823
Wm. C. Rives, Va. 1830
Edward Livingston, La. 1833
Lewis Cass, Mich. 1836
Wm. R. King, Ala. 1844
L. McLane, Md. 1847
South 15. North 8.
South over its proportion 7.

SPAIN.

Wm. Carmichael, Md, 1790
Wm. Carmichael, Md. }
Wm. Short, Va. } 1792
Thomas Pinckney, S. C. 1794
David Humphreys, Ct. 1796
Charles Pinckney, S. C. 1801
James Monroe, Va. 1804
James Bowdoin, 1804
Geo. W. Erving, Mass. 1814
John Forsyth, Geo. 1819
Hugh Nelson, Va. 1823
H. H. Everett, Mass. 1825
C. P. Van Ness, Vt. 1830
Wm T. Barry, Ky. 1835
J. H. Eaton, Tenn 1836
Aaron Vail, N. Y. 1840
Washington Irving, N. Y. 1842
R. M. Saunders, N. C. 1846
South 11. North 7.
South over its proportion 5.

NETHERLANDS.

William Short, Va. 1792
J. Q. Adams, Mass. 1794
Wm. Van Murray, Md. 1797
Wm. Eustis, Mass. 1814
Alex. Everett, Mass, 1818
Christopher Hughes. Md. 1825
Wm. Pitt Preble, Me. 1830
Albert Gallatin, Pa. }
W. Pitt Preble, Me. } 1828
Auguste Davezac, La. 1831
H. Bleecker, N. Y. 1839
C. Hughes, Md. 1842
A. Davezac, La. 1845
South 6. North 7.

PORTUGAL.

David Humphreys, Ct. 1791
J. Q. Adams, 1796
Wm. Smith, N. C 1797
Thomas Sumpter, S C. 1809
John Graham, Va 1819
Henry Dearborn, Mass. 1822
Thomas L. L Brent, Va. 1825
Edw'd Kavanaugh, Me. 1835
W. Barrow, Miss. 1841
S. Rencher, N. C. 1843 1843
South 6—North 4.

PRUSSIA.

J. Q. Adams, Mass. 1797
Henry Clay, Ky. 1828
Henry Wheaton, R. I. 1837
A. J. Donelson, Tenn. 1846

AUSTRIA.

F. A. Muhlenberg, Pa. 1838
Daniel Jenifer, Md. 1841
Wm. A. Stiles, Ga. 1845

RUSSIA.

J. Q. Adams, Ms. 1809
James A. Bayard, Del. 1815
Wm. Pinckney, Md. 1815
Geo. W. Campbell, Tenn. 1818
Henry Middleton, S. C. 1820
John Randolph, Va. 1830
James Buchanan, Pa 1831
Wm. Wilkins, Pa. 1834
J. Randolph Clay Pa. 1836
Geo. M. Dallas, Pa. 1837
C. C. Cambreling, N. Y. 1844
Charles S. Todd, Ky. 1841

SWEDEN.

J. Russell, R. I. 1814
C. Hughes, Jr. Md. 1819
Wm. C Somerville, Md. 1825
John J. Appleton, Ms. 1826
C. Hughes, Md. 1830
Geo. W. Lay, N. Y. 1842
Henry W. Ellsworth, Ia. 1845

DENMARK.

Henry Wheaton, N. Y. 1827
J. F. Woodside, Ohio 1835
Wm. W. Irwin, Pa. 1843

BELGIUM.

Hugh S. Legare, S. C. 1832
Virgil Maxey. Md. 1837
Henry W. Hilliard, Ga. 1842
Thomas G. Menson, 1845

TWO SICILIES.

John Nelson, Md. 1831
Enos T. Throop, N. Y. 1839
Wm. Poulsan, Va. 1845
Wm. H. Polk, Tenn. 1848

SARDINIA.

H. Y. Rogers, Ala. 1840
Ambrose Baber, Ga. 1841
R. Wickliffe, Jr. Va. 1843

TURKEY.

David S. Porter, Md. 1831
Dabney S. Carr, Md. 1843

GAUTAMELA.

Wm. Miller, N. C. 1825
J. Williams, Tenn. 1826
Wm. B. Rochester, N. Y. 1827
Charles D. De Witt, N. Y. 1833
J. L. Stephens, N. Y. 1839

MEXICO.

Ninian Edwards, Ill. 1824
Joel Poinsett, S. C. 1825
A. Butler, Miss. 1830
Powhattan Ellis, Miss. 1831
Waddy Thompson. S. C. 1842
Willson Shannon, 1844
John Slidell, La. 1845
N. P. Trist, D. C. 1847
Ambrose Sevier, Ark. }
Nathan Clifford, Me. } 1848

REPUBLIC COLOMBIA.

Richard C. Anderson, Va. 1828
B. F. Watts, S. C. 1827
Wm. H. Harrison, Ohio. 1828
Thomas P. Moore, Ky. 1829

BRAZIL.

Condey Raguet, Penn. 1825
Wm. Tudor. 1827
Eathan A. Brown, Ohio. 1830
Wm. Hunter, Va. 1834
Geo. H. Profit, Ia. 1843
Henry A. Wise, Va. 1844

BUENOS AYRES.

C. A. Rodndy, Del. 1823
M. Foebes, Florida. 1825
F. Railyes. Mass.
Wm. Brent. Jr. Va. 1844

CHILI.

Heman Allen, Vt. 1823
Samuel Larned R. I. 1828
John Harum, Ohio. 1830
Richard Pollard, Va. 1834
John L. Penndleton, Va. 1841
Wm. Crump, Va. 1844

PERU.

James Cooley, Ohio, 1836.
Samuel Larned, R. I. 1828
E. J. West, Ill.
James B. Thornton, Nh. 1836
James C. Pickett, Va. 1838
Albert G. Jewett, Me. 1846

VENEZUELA.

J. G. A. Williamson, N. C. 1825
A. A. Hall, Tenn 1841
Benj. G. Shields, Ala. 1845

NEW GRENADA.

Robert B McAffee, Ky 1833
James Semple, Ill. 1837
Wm A Blatchford, Va 1832
Benj. B. Bidlack, Pa. 1845

PANAMA CONGRESS.

R. C. Anderson, Va 1826
John Sargeant, Pa. 1825
J R. Poinsett, S C. 1827

TEXAS.

A. Labranche, La. 1837
Geo. H. Flood, Ohio 1840
Joseph Eve, Ky. 1841
T. A. Howard, Ia. 1842
W. T. Murphy, Ohio 1843
A. J. Donelson, Tenn. 1845
South 102—North 79 ministers.
South over its proportion 45.

CLERKS, &c.—In all of the Departments as Clerks, and in the Army and Navy, as under officers, there are thousands of men, drawing salaries from two or three hundred to as many thousand dollars, a large majority of whom are selected from the slave States.

TERRITORIES.—So also the offices of Governor of the Territories, and other offices appointed by the Presidents have usually been from the South.

In these innumerable ways has the slave power managed to filch out of the free labour of the North many millions of dollars annually to sustain the spendthrift institution of Slavery, and its sinking fortunes. In another article similar to this in plan we design to show more fully the influence of the slave power on the *money power* of the country how it has depressed the business and pecuniary affairs, and curbed the spirit of enterprise—from which with that already presented, it will be perceived how Slavery has ruled us and at what a ruinous cost.

☞ Some of the late appointments of Foreign Ministers we have not been able to obtain, not having the requisite documents at hand.

THE SLAVEHOLDERS TAKING POSSESSION.

In Kentucky organizations have been made for emigrating to California, and a "California Emigrating Society" is established. Further north the same associations will be created to move into the new territory armed bands of Slaveholders. The *Philadelphia Republic* says, with truth and force:—*Albany Atlas.*

"The Slaveholders know what they are about. Their deadly resistance to the Proviso is not an abstraction, and accordingly we find them organizing Colonization Societies for the very purpose of occupying the ground and arraying their forces on the spot for the earliest and most desperate efforts to extend their system into the new country. It is to be occupied as Texas was and for the same purpose. All they want is time to crowd the land with their Slaves. The invasion is already arranged, and while the North is debating whether the Proviso is necessary, and whether Taylor will veto it, the propagandists are busy pushing forward their nefarious enterprise. It is not a non-committal, unpledged President that will arrest the mischief. Delay decisive legislative action as long as the Oregon bill was hanging in Congress, and the question will be one of abolition of Slavery, which, by that time will have usurped the ground, and planted itself upon the right of possession. Actual absolute, immediate prohibition—the Wilmot Proviso now, is the only security: every pretence and profession that delays the decision is a cheat. The annexation of Texas was accomplished by stealth. When Adams and Gates and one or two other members of Congress, first warned the country of the design, it seemed so impossible that it was unheeded, but within a year or two from the time when the purpose was demonstrated, the scheme had triumphed over all obstacles, and the iniquity was consummated."

MANUFACTURES AT THE SOUTH—THE TARIFF.

The advocates of a protective or incidentally protective system of duties upon foreign manufactures, put it upon the ground of defending the labour of our own people against the destructive competition of the "pauper labourers of Europe." The workingmen of Europe, they say, are compelled by their necessities to sell their industry to the capitalist at a rate so low that the product comes into our market at a price so reduced, that the cost of the foreign article to the purchaser here must be increased by custom house duties, or our own manufacturers will be driven from employment, or compelled to accept wages reduced to nearly the starving point. Assuming the truth of this statement, and conceding the obligation of protecting our honest free industry from a rivalry so fearful, and a fate so deplorable, come from what cause or quarter it may, we ask attention to a few facts and reflections which bear with none the less force upon the same subject, because they are not generally perceived and acknowledged.

By the census of 1840, it appears that more than
One-fifth of all the cotton factories,
One fourth of all the metal and castings annually manufactured,
One-third of all the forges, bloomeries, and rolling-mills,
One-sixth of all the bar and rolled iron annually produced,
One-fourth of all the persons employed in the manufacture of iron, including mining operations, and
One-fifth of all the capital employed in manufactures of every kind in the Union,

were found in the slave States! Recollecting that the same States have but one-third of the free population of the Nation, it is a matter worthy attention that they had, eight years ago, so nearly reached their fair proportion of the manufacturing industry of the whole country.

In Niles' Register of the 17th February, 1744, we find the following:

The Courier and Enquirer says there are now fifteen cotton mills in South Carolina, all of which have been established within the last ten years, and it is stated on good authority, that notwithstanding the five years of that time during which business of all kinds was seriously embarrassed, there has been no failure in any one of these establishments to produce fair returns for capital invested, when the business was properly attended to. The manufacturing system of the South is even better adapted to be permanent and uniformly safe than at the North. Experience shows that it is less injuriously affected by commercial revulsions; for in 1837, and the succeeding period of general disaster, although many of the largest and finest establishments at the North were sold under the hammer at immense sacrifices, it is stated in the South Carolina Temperance Advocate, that out of 25 cotton factories in North Carolina, 15 in South Carolina, and 19 in Georgia [59] from the best information, only two have changed hands, and one of them was sold for three-fourths of its original cost. In Virginia, both the Carolinas, and Georgia, it is said that not a single factory was closed, or put under the necessity of running short time.

The Philadelphia *Spirit of the Times* of November 1845, has the following:

There are, says a Tennessee paper, no less than fifty cotton factories in Tennessee. They consume annually about ten thousand bales of cotton. There are *many others* employed in spinning and weaving both cotton and wool. Jeans, Osnabergs, Linseys, Kerseys and bed-tickings, are made at Lebanon, Shelbyville, Franklin and Winchester. At Lebanon one hundred hands are employed in the manufacture of the coarser kind of cotton and woollen negro clothing. One half of these hands are blacks—slaves, of course, and they are said to be expert in almost every department. The goods manufactured are disposed of at home and in the South Western States. The Nashville Orthopolitan, from which we learn most of these facts, considers that the success of the factories in Tennessee disproves the opinion held by many, that manufacturing establishments cannot be carried on with advantage where Slavery prevails. The manufacture of blankets is about to be introduced in Tennessee for the first time at Lebanon.

In March last the newspapers stated that there were thirty-two cotton factories in operation and in process of construction in Georgia, in which $2,000,000 are invested. From 18,000 to 20,000 bales of cotton were consumed last year, and the amount of manufactured goods produced was equal in value to $1,500,000.

From the most reliable source we learn that there are above thirty tobacco factories in Richmond, Va., employing from fifty to three hundred hands each, all coloured, and of these about 90 per cent. are slaves, and 10 per cent. free coloured persons; the latter chiefly women.

A year ago the papers announced that there was then a cotton factory near Pensacola, Florida, worked by four hundred coloured girls, and that another still larger in the same neighbourhood was about being erected.

During the past two years, as often at least as once in a fortnight, we have met with paragraphs stating the manufacture of machinery in the North to be used in the South.

Yesterday we republished an item, cut from one of our exchanges, stating that a company of Stockholders residing in Kentucky, Indiana, Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi, have organised themselves for the purpose of manufacturing cotton, at Cannelton, about 120 miles below Louisville. The capital stock of the Company is half a million, of which $200,000 will now be put to use, and 10,000 spindles will be started.

These are a few of the facts gathered by accident, indicating the rapidly spreading policy of manufacturing at the South, and exhibiting its practicability there.

We subjoin the opinions of two men who have given the greatest degree of attention to the general subject, and are, as they are received to be, most competent to speak of it.

Henry Clay, at Raleigh, N. C., in the Spring of 1845, said:

"It cannot be questioned that the chief cause of the reduced price of cotton is the excess of production. The price of it would rise if less were produced, by diverting a portion of *the labour employed in its cultivation* (slave labour, necessarily,) to some other branch of industry. * * * The day will come, and *is not distant*, when the South will feel an imperative necessity voluntarily to make such a diversion of a portion of its labour. Considering the vast water power and other facilities of manufacturing now wasting and unemployed at the South, and its possession at home of the raw material, *I believe the day will come when the cotton region will be the greatest* MANUFACTURING REGION OF COTTON IN THE WORLD."

Andrew Stewart, Esq., of Pennsylvania, the highest authority in the country upon all practical matters in the manufacturing policy, in a letter addressed to Mr. Summers, published during the campaign of 1844, says, speaking of Virginia:

"Has she not all the prolific sources of wealth which Pennsylvania and other States are now so successfully developing? Have you not the same chain of mountains, containing in its bosom the same rich beds of mineral wealth, of ore and coal, the same water powers, and all other natural facilities? But superadded to all these, has she not this transcendant and overpowering advantage of LABOUR WITHOUT WAGES. * * * * Let, then, those Southern disunionists avail themselves of their great and decided advantages in the possession of the *staple article* and *cheaper labour*, enabling them not only to *compete successfully with their brethren of the North*, but even to triumph in a foreign market over the *serfs* of Russia and the *Paupers* of Great Britain."

Now then, we have seen the facts which demonstrate our point, and authorities which are good against a world of prejudice and uninstructed opinion. Henry Clay is not likely to blunder on the point which has been the study of his life, and Stewart has a personal and practical acquaintance with it, enhanced by no ordinary amount of investigation, pursued for scientific and political purposes. And the statistics adduced reduce the matter to a certainty.

Manufactures are practicable, safe and successful in the South. Slave labour can be and is employed in them, and—that labour is cheaper than the labour of the free white man, cheaper than the pauper labour of Great Britain,—it is labour WITHOUT wages. Let us see:

A slave can be fed and clothed for thirty dollars a year; (Doctor Brisbane says it can be done well in South Carolina for twenty-seven.) The interest on his price amounts to thirty dollars more—sixty dollars a year or sixteen and a half cents a day, is his cost to his master. Double this if you please to meet the cost of supporting the infants and infirm, and you have labour at thirty three cents per diem, prime cost. When the slave dies the capital invested is not lost; they double their number once in twenty years, and not only replace them with the children chattles which they leave behind, but go far to repay the whole expense of their own maintenance besides.

Mr. Stewart is right, it is labour without wages, or nearly so.

It is true that slaves are inferior labourers where without motive, interest or any feeling of duty they must be left to their discretion and cannot be overseen, as in small farming and other solitary occupations, but wherever they can be worked in gangs, and superintended as in the cotton field, the forge, furnace and large cotton and woollen factories, compulsion can be easily made to supply the place of zeal and interest—at the loom hundreds can be watched by a single man, as our own factory children now are; their work can be inspected both in quality and quantity, and the lash applied to secure their industry and bring out their skill.

Now what shall we say to the prospect which this view of our subject opens before us? Here is a competition preparing to dispute the market of the world with, not only the free labourer of the North, but with the paupers of Europe. A competition, against which no tariff can protect us at home.

Duties imposed on *foreign* imports can raise their price in our market, so as to enable our capitalists to give fair wages to the American workman; but how shall we guard ourselves against the under-working of the home system that pays no wages; where not only the labour but the labourer is purchased in the market by the employer and owner?

Our workingmen need to know their positions, their relations to Slavery, that they may address themselves to their duty while the impending ruin can be averted. They ought to know that the work they live by is about being done without their help, for less, far less than sixteen cents per diem. The power is yet in their hands, the danger is theirs, and on them the responsibility must be thrown. May they see their duties through their interests if prejudice does still blind them to the higher motives of patriotism and humanity. If the Democracy plays the tyrant and the tyrant's ally now, if it aids in the enslavement of others, soon it must receive into its own bosom the bitterness which it wantonly or thoughtlessly inflicts upon others. The laws of nature will avenge the injuries of labour. The independent voters of the North who maintain the oppressor in power, sometimes tell us that the slaves are best off as they are, but will they be pleased to consider whether *they* are prepared to meet in the market the rivalry of labour without wages? To say nothing of its crime and cruelty, it is a sad mistake to hate either, the pauper or the slave who is compelled to under work you. It is not he but his unrewarded toil that is destroying you—not he, but his oppressor that is your enemy. Whether it be in pride of caste, or devotion to party, or ignorance or indifference to the right—no matter—by lending your aid to the oppressor of the poor, you are degrading not them only but labour itself, which has no colour. Nothing can save you but yourselves. If you refuse, Providance will "laugh at your calamity and mock when your fear cometh," and who shall say that justice has missed her mark when the oppressor perishes!—*Philadelphia Republican.*

From the New York Tribune.

ILL BREEDING AT THE UNIVERSITY MEDICAL LECTURES.

To the Editor of the Tribune:

Perceiving in the daily papers an advertisement inviting the "Profession and the public generally" to hear an introductory lecture by Dr Mott, at the Medical Department of the University of New York, the undersigned medical students gladly attended the same that evening.

The room was well filled with both sexes, and we listened to the famed Professor with interest for a few moments, when his man Friday, (we mean the lecturer for that day,) suddenly became restive and ran to the Janitor, who came and touched one of us on the shoulder and requested a few words in private. He stated in the Hall that the lecture was a "private affair," but when told of the advertisement, stammered and said that he had orders from the Faculty not to admit at any time such as we. He, (the Janitor,) had no objections, but obeyed orders. While he spoke a benevolent looking young man came out and pointed to the other of us, who was in like manner invited to this private interview.

As our presence seemed to have disturbed none of the audience, and as we were part and parcel of the invited public, we felt and do feel that the Faculty aforesaid are guilty of a contemptible piece of meanness in asking people to come and when they so come, in turning them out of doors! We happen to be coloured, but so is every twentieth person in this city; we are coloured, but along with other citizens, we pay taxes and vote to send men to the Legislature; and this University of the State of New York, created by *our* representatives, and a yearly beggar from that public fund which is ours, as much as any one else in the State, has no right to take our money for its support, and then turn us out of doors from a course of *free* lectures publicly advertised.

This exclusion is demanded neither by the feelings nor habits of Northern students; for coloured youth attend lectures in Albany, Berkshire, Boston and in Maine—it must be in deference to the South, therefore that the meanness is perpetrated. It is no more than fair that the name should be changed from the "University of the State of New York" to the "Supplejack of Slaveocracy," and the Legislature of this State be petitioned to grant no more of the Public Fund to the support of such institutions as exclude the public. These leaky tubs should be made to stand on their own bottoms. We think it cruel and shameful, that because we are coloured, we are not only thrust out of these public lectures, but we are farther not permitted to enter the classes at this University, and are therefore forced, at a considerable expense, to leave home and attend but partially endowed colleges at a distance. DE GRASSE & RAY.

New York, Oct. 30, 1848.

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.—The politicians of Jamaica talk of separating from the mother country, and annexing themselves to the United States. Hands off, gentlemen! We want not your company. "As ye have brewed, so you must bake." The only motive of the Jamaica planters to this annexation, would be the reëstablishment of Slavery; and to this they have probably been encouraged by Mr. Calhoun's proposition to reëstablish Slavery in Hayti, Mr. Yulee's proposition to annex Cuba for the purpose of preventing the abolition of Slavery, and the attempt of our *statesmen*, (!!!) Northern and Southern, to re-establish Slavery in New Mexico and California, and to establish it originally in Oregon. But even if Jamaica were annexed, a proposition to reëstablish Slavery there would fail. The coloured population, nine tenths of the whole, would *fight for liberty*. And they would make a desperate fight too; for they are much stronger now, than they were fifty years ago, when a few of them, retiring to the mountains, held all British power in defiance, and were finally subdued with great difficulty.—Admitting that Southern chivalry would sacrifice a hundred thousand lives and a hundred millions of dollars, to reduce the coloured Jamaicans to Slavery, we feel assured that Northern, Middle, and Western plebeianism would not; and without the consent of the latter, the former could not pass the necessary *bills*. We will throw out every moral consideration, and consider the case merely as a case of cash; and the necessary conclusion is that, the South cannot, and the North and West will not, pay for re-establishing Slavery in Jamaica.

If then we must take the Jamaicans as *free*, what shall we do with them? We must govern them as a territory, till they were fit for a State, and in the mean time, must receive their territorial delegate in Congress. He would be a coloured man; for as, according to modern doctrines in some quarters, Congress could not legislate for the territories, they must legislate for themselves; and as Anglo-Saxon institutions now prevail in Jamaica, the majority must govern, whether upon freehold, household, or universal suffrage. Would the members from South Carolina take their seats beside the delegate from Jamaica? Even the members from Massachusetts would demur. As the Federal Government have never acknowledged the independence of Hayti, because it would impose the necessity of receiving a Haytien ambassador, we cannot imagine how they would get along with a Jamaica delegate. And the case would be much worse when Jamaica applied for admission as a State.—With about 40,000 whites and 500,000 blacks, its Senators and representatives in Congress would probably be coloured. How will the advocates of annexation solve the difficulty, unless upon the utterly inadmissible, and impracticable if admissible, basis of re-establishing Slavery? The thing cannot be done.

The same difficulty applies to every island in the West Indies, Cuba included. Several of our journals, and one of our Senators, are earnest about the annexation of Cuba. But the free States will not consent to its annexation as slave, nor the slave States as free territory; and as the whole of it is South of "Mason's and Dixon's Line," the "Missouri compromise" is out of the question.

What then shall become of the British West Indies? We must leave that question to them and the "mother" country. As this "mother," and their preceding "mother" Spain, would fill them with slaves from Africa, instead of leaving them to be settled by "Caucassians," their present "mother" must proceed with her present system, re-establish Slavery, *if she can*, or leave them to themselves as new Haytis. To the latter they must come at last. When the *people* of England shall rule, instead of the aristocracy, they will learn that these islands are not worth keeping as colonies, but may be worth something as markets, when independent communities. If possessed entirely by the coloured race, civilized as they are under English training, which is far better than French or Spanish, secure in their insular position, and let alone by Europeans, excepting for voluntary and mutual trade, they *may* constitute a prosperous confederacy, quite able to govern themselves, and to raise sugar, coffee and cotton for European and American markets.—Cuba will be no exception to this. The utmost that *we* should consent to do for it, would be the guarantee of its sovereignty to Spain against England. But if the blacks choose to rebel against the whites, that is Spain's affair, and not ours; and if Spain and the white colonists united are not strong enough to suppress the insurrection, *we* cannot interfere. The only remaining alternative is the colonization of all the blacks in Africa, and the substitution of Europeans. But this is impossible for Spain, and nearly so, besides being impolitic, for England. It is a case of manifest destiny. The blacks will eventually extirpate the whites, who will gradually retire; and thus the European nations, who would have African Slavery, will meet with that little thing beyond man's control, retributive justice.

But how will all this affect us; Very beneficially.—The West Indies are near, and are therefore a good outlet for our coloured population; and when we stop the *extension* of Slavery, then the slave States will begin to think of colonization, and will seek the nearest outlet. But whether these things will happen or not, *we* must not think of islands. The continent is large enough for our confederacy. The West Indies have been the graves of Europeans, fighting for their possession. To us they are not worth fighting about.—*Philadelphia Ledger.*

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1848

Calling Things by their right Names.

The excellent Brother Anselm was the fortunate occupant of one of the most uncomfortable caverns in the Thebaid. Exposed to the rain during the wet season and to the sun during the dry, not a day passed which did not add to the hermit's claims upon an eternally blissful hereafter. He had so reduced himself by fastings and flagellations, and had become so dry and brown by exposure, that there was no farther step left to him unless from being a living mummy to being a dead one. A zealous *Homo ousian*, he had not only confuted, but assisted in burning, several *Homoi-ousian* heretics, an operation easily performed with men whose piety consisted in rendering themselves conveniently sapless. It may be supposed that so eminent an example of devotion would not be without disciples, and among these none was more ardent than Brother Theodoric. This Theodoric was a worthy hermit from whom no perseverance in mortification could expel a tendency to *adipocere*, and upon whom the extraordinary tenuity of the holy Anselm consequently made a deeper and more venerable impression.

Anselm, having little farther to do with his own sins, had a great deal of time to devote to those of other people, and, having long considered with himself the various atrocities perpetrated in different parts of the world, came at last to the conclusion that there was nothing so altogether revolting to human nature as the practice of cannibalism. For many years he revolved the matter in his cavern, till he became so possessed by it that he could talk and think of little beside, and his fellow-hermits, who agreed about nothing else, became unanimous upon one point, namely, that Brother Anselm was crazy and a bore. As his orthodoxy was above suspicion, and his hallucination not of a kind which would warrant them in making a bonfire of him at once, and so getting him peaceably out of the way, they were rejoiced when he announced to them one day that he felt a movement of the spirit to go upon a mission to the Cannibal Islands, and accordingly encouraged him to set forth in the prosecution of it. Theodoric, whose fatter and more sluggish nature was slowly penetrated by impulses, but in which impressions once made were exceedingly durable, was not yet ready to accompany his master.

After passing through a great many perilous adventurers, in his escape from which Anselm recognized the manifest finger of Providence, he arrived at the sphere of his enterprise. He found that the inhabitants of the Islands had not been belied, but, though burning with indignation and zeal, he resolved to master their language thoroughly before commencing his labours as a reformer. This occupied the greater part of a year, during which time he was treated with kindness and hospitality by the natives, who were, perhaps, induced to contribute to his sustenance by an economical forethought of some future feast at which he should passively, rather than actively assist. However this may be those civilities and attentions insensibly softened the mind of the apostle toward the objects of his mission, and the constant sight of the odious practice against which he came to preach robbed it by little and little of the vividness of its horror.

Being at length perfectly accomplished in the language of the country, he prepared to make a public delivery of his testimony, and for this purpose selected a day of public rejoicing, he interrupted the festivities of the chief market-place by a cogent appeal to the throng of revellers upon the sin of Man-eating. He was immediately seized by the enraged populace, who, after a consultation in which it was voted that he was too lean for any purpose of practical utility, resolved to carry him before the King.

If Anselm had been asked for his conception of this potentate, while he was yet tossing about on shipboard, he would doubtless have drawn a not very flattering imaginative likeness, in which the peculiar expression of the hyaena and the ghoule would have been blended in tolerably equal proportions. But his residence in the principal island of his majesty's possessions had cleared his mind of many erroneous preconceptions, and he was not therefore surprised when, after some preliminaries of etiquette, he was ushered into the presence of a middleaged man of refined and intelligent features, and uncommonly prepossessing address.

The fervour of the misionary had been not a little roused by some of the rather buisterous attentions of the mob, and, accordingly, no sooner did he find himself in the royal presence, than be gave vent to his suppressed indignation in a diatribe against Man-eating, in which sacred majesty itself was not spared. The courteous monarch waited with an air of polite but unconvinced attention until the missionary had fully relieved himself of his testimony, and then signified his intention of conversing with him in private. Anselm was rather annoyed at the wholly unruffled manner of the King, who had that polish of character from which reproofs and uncomfortable suggestions slipped off like rain from a duck's back.

When they were alone together, his majesty remarked with a gracious smile, "*we* always call it *mutton*, as our ancestors have done from time immemorial."

"But it *is* man's flesh, nevertheless, and it makes no difference what you call it. You may throw dust in the eyes of conscience, but you cannot impose upon God."

"Excuse me, excellent Sir, but it *does* make a difference. Hereditary sins, heirlooms of barbarism, in short, atrocities to which we have been educated, cannot be looked upon in the light of *abstract* wickedness."

Anselm had been too long a theologian not to love a quibble with all his heart, but, after a moment's reflection, he replied, "We are always trifling with ourselves and compromising with our vices, when we cease to call things by their right names. The spirit of the Lord hath sent me hither to be as the voice of one crying in the wilderness against the hideous iniquity of—of—"

Here the missionary was staggered by an expression of polite deprecation in the countenance of the King, who quickly added, with a bland smile, "Mutton-eating. My dear Sir, things *are* to us precisely what they *seem* to us. The practice which you so ably and eloquently reprehend (allow me to say) has become, as it were, a part of our social system. A sudden change would be productive of the most alarming results. In the first place, our prisoners of war, if we ceased to dispose of them in the way which both we and they consider inevitable, would become very dangerous members of society. Accustomed to expect nothing but the tin-kitchen and the dredging-box, and thrown upon their own resources for employment, they would become turbulent, and fill our now peaceful dominions with excesses and insurrections. These social changes (which I grant to be desirable) must be brought about gradually, by persons familiar with our position and our habits of thought, and indeed identified with them. Now, I have a proposition to make to you which, I trust, will receive your mature consideration. After a careful examination of different religious systems, I have become satisfied that Christianity is but adapted to secure the permanence of a paternal despotism like our own. It preserves this world to those who have it now, and provides another world for those whose share of this is limited. The upper classes retain those privileges and luxuries which long habit has rendered necessary to them, and the masses get that invaluable boon—religion. I am anxious to have this admirable system introduced here as it is practised in Christendom. We have no established system of orthodoxy. You have a ready made one to dispose of. To be the means of converting a whole people would be something after your own heart. You shall be my Pontiff and Minister of public religion, with an establishment suited to your rank. It is seldom that the propagandist has such an occasion offered to him."

"But Christianity is utterly incompatible with the eating of—of—mutton," stammered Anselm.

"All in good time," replied the King. "As one of ourselves, you will have opportunities of effecting reform which would be entirely denied to you if you attempted to work from without. Indeed, it is your only chance, for, if you decline my proposition, the executioner is in readiness, and this glorious opportunity must await some wiser and less headstrong Evangelist."

"Allow me, three days to consider," pleaded Anselm. The three days were granted.

* * * * * *

Let us now return to the Thebaid, where, after six years had gone by, the spirit of missionary enterprise had at length pierced through the heart of Brother Theodoric. In spite of every species of maceration, growing daily plumper than ever, and having a fixed idea that the gate of Heaven was only wide enough to admit living skeletons, he looked with increasing horror at the round and top-like shadow which his irreligious person cast upon the smooth, white sand of the desert. He began to think that his obesity was a judgment upon him for having allowed the Sainted Anselm to undertake his holy enterprise alone. Becoming at last fully persuaded that this theory was the true one, he resolved to follow in the steps of his friend and spiritual father. He accordingly embarked, and after a short and prosperous voyage, arrived at the Cannibal Islands. Unable to make himself intelligible in words, he expressed as well as he could by signs, his disgust at the *cuisine* of the natives. He was perhaps over desirous of the crown of martyrdom, and was certainly in a fair way to obtain it. He was not much of a casuist, and made no nice distinctions as to the precise manner or occasion of his roasting, it being sufficient for his purposes if the ceremony were gone through with, no matter to what end.

In the meanwhile Anselm was rapidly earning the enviable title of Apostle to the Cannibal Islanders. He had convinced himself that his majesty was right, that men must be approached gently and tenderly, and that as Sovereign Pontiff his sphere of usefulness and his opportunity for introducing reforms would be incalculably enlarged. Accordingly he did his best to view things from a Cannibal Island point of view, and finally succeeded so entirely that he found an authority in Scripture for what he now mildly called their *most striking peculiarity*. This authority was no other than a passage in relation to certain devourers of widows and orphans, by applying to which the rules of interpretation he had become familiar with in his *Homo-ousian* controversies, he produced most extraordinary results, which had a very favourable influence in preparing the minds of the Islanders for the reception of Gospel truths. A custom sanctioned by Scripture was of course a thing to be commended rather than preached against, and it was not long before the zealous Pontiff discovered that the present state of things was the best that could be devised for all parties. He even preached a discourse in the public prison urging it upon the victims confined there (many of whom had been converted by his labours) that it was their Duty as Christians to be as *tender* as possible, and not, by a wicked and carnal toughness, to carry their revenge even beyond the confines of the dripping-pan, where all private animosities should cease forever.

Now, as in other countries, Princes and Great Nobles have forests in which the game is preserved, so did the chief persons in the Cannibal Islands have certain perquisites in regard to their peculiar kind of *mutton*, and it so happened that the extraordinarily fine sheep Theoderic fell to the share of the Head of the Church. That eminent and godly man had now reached the point he so earnestly desired. He was in all respects identified with the people he had converted, looked at all objects precisely as they did, and was consequently now ready to commence reformer with reasonable hopes of success. But, curiously enough, the nearer he approached to this long desired position, the fewer grew the objects of reform, till, when it was fairly reached, he could see absolutely nothing which seemed to him in need of amendment.

Over the subsequent history of Theoderic we must draw a veil. Only the Pontiff, in a discourse wherein he set forth the providential fact that blessings were equally distributed over all parts of the world, so that a deprivation was pretty sure to be balanced by some corresponding advantage, used the following illustration—"how else," exclaimed he, with impressive unction, "shall we account for the circumstance that the arid waste of the Thebaid produces mutton of such size and flavour?"

J. R. L.

☞ The late Rev. Dr. Tuckerman of Boston is well known probably to most of our readers as one who has left behind him the reputation of having been a good man, a faithful disciple of his master, and a diligent and self sacrificing pastor of the poor in Boston. His however was not one of those far seeing, or bold, or rash minds, as the case may be, who are always in advance of public opinion. He rather represented that class of Unitarian Clergymen, who walk, literally, and morally, so humbly through the world that they seem to offer a perpetual apology to their fellow-creatures for venturing to walk at all in the sight of men, or even for continuing at all in existence. Any opinion of Dr. Tuckerman's would probably never have been challenged for its extravagance, even were it not considered as an echo of the popular sentiment.

We are reminded very forcibly by the event of this week of an assertion made by him just nine years ago. It was not then an uncommon opinion, and nobody was pronounced as fanatic or ultra, who proclaimed it boldly. It was given in the form of a prediction, and its complete non-fulfillment is a striking commentary upon the American character. Dr. Tuckerman verily thought what he said, and without doubt a large majority of the people, of Massachusetts, and of the Northern States thought with him. But so far from fulfilling the prediction made by him, and which was made by others far more distinguished, as well as by thousands of the common people, the vast majority of the whole nation this week are proving by their votes that not only have they quietly submitted to the annexation of Texas, to the extension of Slavery over it, to a war with Mexico and to a transfer of the boundary of Slavery still farther South, from the Nueces to the Rio Grande, but that they are perfectly ready to acquiesce, without a murmur, in the still farther extension of human bondage to the now free and extensive territories of California and New Mexico! We think history could hardly present a more melancholy spectacle of the degradation of a people, than this election, were it not for the one reclaiming feature of the Free Soil movement.

In 1837, the Rev. Dr. Tuckerman speaks as follows in a letter to the Rev. J. Blanco White. There are a good many people in Boston to whom we should be glad so to commend its perusal, if they could be supposed to be condescending as to listen to any recommendation of ours. We take the liberty of italicising and capitalising the sentence about the middle of the extract:

"You will have heard of the determination of this class of our *Republicans* to obtain the annexation of Texas to the Union; and thus by making ten or a dozen New States, to secure a decided preponderance of slave-holding power in the country. Texas—I mean as it stands upon the map—will be the field of long and most angry battles in our Congress next winter. But fear nothing. *Should a vote for this object be obtained* THE UNION WILL BE DISSOLVED; AND, AS I BELIEVE WITHOUT A DOUBT THE EMANCIPATION OF OUR SLAVES WILL THUS BE GREATLY HASTENED. Or should the South fail in this project, its desperation will be increased, which will with equal certainty though not I think so soon, be fatal to their cause."

☞ We copy the following letter from David Wilmot to the *Philadelphia Republic*, the Free Soil paper in that city, as the report that he had abandoned his party has been extensively published. Our readers in Pennsylvania will like to know not only that the charge is false, but how he defends himself:

TOWANDA, Oct. 30, 1848.

William Elder—Dear Sir,—I returned home last evening after an absence of ten days, in the neighbouring State of New-York, where I was constantly engaged day and night, in addressing Free Soil meetings. I visited the neighbouring town of Elmira on business, intending to address a meeting in my own district the next day; but my friends insisted so earnestly that I should visit certain points in Southern New-York, that I yielded, and was pressed on from place to place, for a period longer than I had contemplated.

There is not the slightest foundation for the rumor, of which you speak in your paper. I am to-day, as I have been from the hour I heard of the nomination of Mr. Van Buren at Utica, his firm and uncompromising supporter for the Presidency. All that one man can do, who is destitute of the sinews of war," and who has been pressed until nearly exhausted, I shall continue to do, to uphold the standard of freedom. I wish that you would contradict, in a *strong* article, all rumors prejudical to my character and integrity, as connected with this great movement. I never spoke more earnestly and decidedly against the election of Gen. Cass, and in favour of the election of Van Buren, than on the day before my nomination, to a large mass meeting in this village. I made more than twenty-five speeches at public meetings in the district pending my election, in all of which I avowed my opposition to Cass, and support of Van Buren. One would have supposed this enough, without requiring a man, *poor* in the extreme, and who had spent $500 in the canvass, to push on without a day of rest. I have compromised my position in no respect, nor will I do so. Nor could I be induced to do so, for any consideration that I have but little more means to spend. What I have shall be given freely, and my most earnest and active efforts shall not be wanting between this and the election. This district is now the centre of the combined operations of the whole Cass party of the state. Men and money will not be wanting. Roumfort is here, and has infused activity into the ranks of Gen. Cass. I had hoped, that I had done and suffered enough in this cause, to shield one from dishonourable suspicione. In haste, yours

D. WILMOT.

THE SALEM (OHIO) BUGLE has got the Free Soil papers and their opponents of that State by the ears, by advocating Disunion. The Whigs endeavour to fasten upon the Free Soil paper at Salem some obnoxious sentiments to which the *Bugle* has given utterance, and the Free Soilers reply, very justly, that the *Bugle* is an open advocate of Disunion, and in no way connected with the Free Soil party, and that that party cannot properly be held responsible for any of these heresies. Very right certainly; and if there were a grain of manliness in the composition of these Whig hypocrites, they would acknowledge the injustice of which they had been guilty; but of course the lie was a deliberate one, and promulgated with the purpose of deception.

The Free Soil paper at Cincinnati—now called the *Globe*, once the *Philanthropist* and *Herald*, and before that the *Philanthropist* alone, thus marking the *facilis descensus* from Anti-Slavery to Liberty party, and from that to Free Soilism—is specially indignant at the attempts of the Whigs to brand its—the Globe's—party with holding such obnoxious sentiments. It explains the difference between the two Salem papers, and says of the *Bugle*, that it is, "a Disunion,—Garrisonian—bolition paper."—Mark the gradation: First it is *Disunion*:—that is bad enough, and the sin of which the Free Soilers were held guilty; then *Garrisonian*:—worse evidently than Disunion as it includes, other things beside Disunion; but thirdly comes *Abolition*: here is the dire offence—they want to free the "niggers,"—these Garrisonians, Disunion, *Bugle* men! the rascals!" that is not what we Free Soilers are after!

We had hoped better things of Mr. Vaughan than this sort of truckling to prejudice for a few votes. We hope he will repent of it after the election. Surely we have not mistaken him in supposing Abolitionist?

CHOLERA.—A report has been spread abroad through the papers that the cholera had reached this city. It is, however, fortunately false, as the filthy condition of the streets is such that should it visit us now, we should have no right to expect that anybody would be alive a week afterward to tell the tale of its ravages. The *Courier* and *Enquirer*, tries to comfort its readers by assuring them that there is no need of alarm, as the cholera only attacks the "lower classes;" but unless Respectability clears away the filth, in which we are already half interred, we doubt if the pestilence will be as discriminating as the *Courier* promises. The city Government certainly seem to be committing the fatal mistake of supposing that nobody but poor folks are likely to suffer, all preparation is needless. But we hazard the suggestion that natural laws are not absolutely suspended in favour even of turtle fed alderman, or wine-bibbing editors, though they may live ever so far "above Bleeker."

A CONVICTED DOE-FACE.—Judge Allen, of Massachusetts, lately a Whig, now a Free-Soiler, has given to the world a letter written to him by the Hon. Charles Hudson, Member of Congress, just before the Philadelphia Convention. In it the Honourable member who is now a rabid Taylorite, says:

With Taylor I fear we should lose our own State and sacrifice our own principles. For one I had rather be in a minority adhering to principle, than in a majority without principle.

Such is the stuff of which Whigs are made. Mr. Hudson is not only a Whig, but rather better than the politicians of his party generally. He is, moreover, or has been, a Universalist clergyman, and is said to be "great in prayer."

THE EDMONDSON GIRLS.—The amount which was collected at the Tabernacle in behalf of these young women was found to fall short of the sum necessary to redeem them from the horrible fate for which they were destined by the inhuman monsters at Washington who claimed the ownership of their bodies; but we are glad to learn that the full ransom has been raised by private donation, and collections in churches, and that the girls by this time are probably free.

THEY LOVE DARKNESS, FOR THEIR DEEDS ARE EVIL.—During the progress of the Torch Light political procession in Philadelphia, last week, a young man was deliberately murdered; at a similar celebration in New Orleans a pistol fight occurred in which one man was killed, several others dangerously, and perhaps fatally wounded, and finally a house wilfully set on fire and burnt to the ground. A young man was killed in the torch-light procession here, last week, but, it is supposed, accidentally.

INTERNATIONAL POSTAGE.—The Boston *Daily Advertiser* says that letters have been received in that city from Mr. Bancroft, announcing that he had effected with the British Government a settlement of the difficulties in relation to the postages by the British and United States Mail Steamers.

☞ A late number of *Douglass Jerrold's Newspaper* (London) quotes two separate passages from the *Standard*, and credits one of them to Bassitt's *Christian Citizen*, and the other to the *Peace Advocate*. We rather prefer the way in which we find, almost every week, that we are dealt with by our Contemporaries of the press, namely, no credit at all. Jerrold's newspaper however, though receiving stolen goods, did not of course know that he took them from thieves.

To Correspondents.

J. R. L. He could not have a better apology except the ceremony had been specially in his behalf.

P. A. C. The question asked in both the last and preceding letter we cannot answer. We copy such things from other papers, when the fact—or even the probability of it—will be likely to interest anybody. The Periodicals referred to we are confident were never sent to us. The "L. A." we have never seen. Commissions attended to.

A. O. G. Package at 21.

R. D. W. K. B. has been in this city for some months. The papers to Cork and Dublin are always mailed in the steamboats from *this* port, so that the fault is on the thar side.

A. W. W. shall hear, one way or the other, in the course of a week or ten days.

Foreign Correspondence.

From our Dublin Correspondent.

The Correspondent shows his diligence in behalf of the Cause.—He goes to Cork—The Cove of Cork—A Swan that's Not a Swan—Ventures an Insinuation—Healthiness of Cork—Ships of War, appropriately named by the Admiral of all Navies—He tells some important truths in few words; and winds up with a wish more nice than wise—Gets back to Cork—Grows enthusiastic about it—Describes its position, its scenery, its people, their brogue, their hospitality, their Anti-Slavery, their intelligence.—He cites an example, William Martin.—Father Mathew—his present condition and circumstances.—Return to Dublin—The Mountains of Slievenamon, and the Irish War—The correspondent explains his calmness at that terrible crisis—He talks in plain terms of Irish Patriots—Compassionates the honest among them—Irish Geography—Irish Peasantry—Contrast between them and the Police—Their relative members, and the impossibility of a revolution—He describes a change of heart, though not according to the orthodox standard—A True Reformer—How the Unitarians took him up; and how they put him down again—His paper "The People"—Its unsparing denunciation, and fearlessness, and vigour—Joseph Barker a formidable man—Means taken to silence him—Will, nevertheless, probably go to Parliament—His Errors—Conviction of the Chartists—Of Smith O'Brien—Harriet Martineau's "Eastern Travels"—Commends it to Come-outers—Irish Affairs—Scarcity of potatoes—Wretched condition of the people of Erris—O'Brien—Jenny Lind, and the way the world goes round—concludes with a message.

DUBLIN, 10th October, 1848.

MY DEAR GAY:—As we say in Yankeedom, I "feel like" writing to you. I feel as if I had a great many things to say. From past experience you will not doubt that I shall say a great deal. Since we last *conversed* in this onesided way, I paid a visit to Cork. One evening while at tea I was reminded of a parcel of matters and things pertaining to the approaching Boston Fair, which it was needful to send to Cork, and that a steamboat was advertised to sail at 9 o'clock. As the night was remarkably fine, and no particular business required my attention at home, I thought I might as well take the parcel myself and thus deliver it, and see my Cork friends into the bargain. And so I went to Cork. It is about 170 miles from Dublin by sea. Our boat was first-rate and so was our passage. Cork harbour is said to be one of the finest in the world. I don't know whether the Irish have the same tendency with the Americans to think their geese all swans. We have few swans to boast of. But certainly Cork harbour is beautiful and grand. When you enter the narrow harbour's mouth—or rather this harbour's narrow mouth—you have a view of the town of Cove rising before you on the side of a hill looking towards the South. From its sheltered position, Cove is a great resort for invalids in the winter season, particularly for those who have any tendency to disorders of the lungs. There are numbers of small islands in the harbour. Several of these are occupied by Government stores, or as fortifications, or as convict depots. It was to Spike-Island Mitchell was sent after his conviction, and from there he was shipped to Bermuda, leaving no honester man or more fanatical patriot behind him. When I was there the harbour was enlivened or darkened, whichever you please, by the presence of several ships of war, gun boats, and so forth. The sight of these ships give me no pleasure. I feel no interest, no gratified curiosity in the huge armaments with their long rows of threatening cannon, in the lofty masts, the spreading sails, the stately decks, or the proud pennons.—There was one ship of 120 guns, and several seventy-fours, all with names that the Devil might have selected. To some Englishmen these objects may be gratifying as indications of the tremendous brute force of his Government, but to others who consider their enormous cost, their infernal purpose, and that they are built, manned, and maintained, at the expense of the poor—or to an Irishman, who, whatever his politics cannot but feel that they are the indications of a foreign dominion, they are not by any means delightful to behold. Although I know that all their ships and soldiers are collected to repress what would probably have proved a bloody and anarchical insurrection, I hate the sight of them. If it had not been for the [illegible] cruelty, tyranny, and injustice of our English rulers in former times, we should not now be in this disjointed, impoverished, demoralized, degraded, hopeless condition. If it were not that after all our sufferings, the interests of the aristocracy and the maintenance of their feet upon the necks of the people, are more thought of than anything else, and that this state of things is upheld by all the power and all the influence of England, we might still have some chance of a change for the better. It is said that every dog has its day. I wish ours was come round.

From the harbour's mouth to Cork is about 15 miles. The sail is beautiful the whole way—across the harbour, and up the river Lee. You would never believe if you entered Ireland here, that this was really the miserable country you had heard of. The gently swelling brakes on either side are covered with villas, gentlemen's mansions, plantations, corn fields, cultivated fields, and every indication of prosperity.—Cork is situated in a hollow, surrounded by an amphitheatre of rather steep hills, yet of no great elevation. From many points of view the whole town can be readily seen at once.—It is much less regularly built than Dublin, and is not more than half the size. It is commonly called by the natives "the beautiful city." Have you never heard of "the beautiful city called Cork?" I have, a thousand times. And it is a pleasant city—lightsome, busy, and populous. I like Cork and I like the Cork people. Did you ever hear the Cork brogue? It is the oddest and the pleasantest brogue in Ireland. There is a certain funny, jerking, cosiness about it—a *je ne sais quoi-ness* that of course I can't describe, but which you ought to comprehend from my description. It puts you at your ease. You feel you are among friends, and you comfort yourself accordingly. When visitors to Ireland call on me in Dublin, I always press them to go to Cork—and I never knew any one yet who took this advice that did not thank me for it. Some of the best Anti-Slavery people in Ireland are in Cork. If you want to meet with hospitality, cordiality, and intelligence, without fuss, or etiquette, or bother, you should come to Cork. A very large proportion of the ablest men—the most distinguished in science, literature, and art, whom Ireland has produced, are natives of the "County Cork."—Nowhere will you find more art, vivacity, and genial humour. In all the pleasanter phases of the Irish character, Cork abounds, and might well be called Little Ireland. Firm old William Martin lives here, a staunch old Quaker, a rigid Teetotaller, Hydropathist, and Abolitionist, seventy seven years old, but as vivacious as if he were only twenty-seven. He bears the reputation of having induced Father Mathew to become a teetotaller, and I have no doubt of the report for he has all the earnestness of an apostle himself. Everybody knows that Father Mathew himself lives here. I called on him and saw him for the first time in his own house. I had often been in Cork since he commenced his wonderful and blessed labours, but I never before found him at home. The only shady side of my visit to Cork was the deep regret I felt in seeing a great change for the worse in his appearance. I was really grieved—and the pain mixed itself with all my pleasure, to see him so altered. You have doubtless heard that he had a slight paralytic attack some time ago. This I fear was induced by continued pecuniary embarrassments connected with his labours in the spread of Teetotalism. An indefatigable friend of his told me Father Mathew had received a pressing invitation from a countryman of yours to pay his long promised visit to the United States, assuring him there would be little difficulty in procuring such an amount of assistance as would set him at his ease for the remainder of his life. He is already in the enjoyment of a pension of £300 a year from our Government, and this I am told is barely sufficient to defray an insurance on his life for the benefit of his creditors. No doubt he was imprudent in allowing himself to be so overwhelmed, but when we consider how priceless his services have been to this country, I would greatly prefer that some one of those pensions was conferred upon him that are so freely lavished upon venal statesmen, or ruthless mercenary soldiers. Rank and title are much more readily earned by the butchery of Mexicans, Chinese, or Africans, than by saving the lives or gladdening the hearths of any number of Irish or Americans.

I returned to Dublin as I came, by sea—and the sea was like a mill pond—which to those who abhor the motion of the salt water as I do, was a great blessing—As we were within sight of land from Cork to the Tuskar lighthouse on the Wexford coast, we could see those ranges of mountains—the Comeragh and Slievenamon—that have been the scene of the recent petty insurrection which has made so much more noise than it was worth.—Some of my American friends have lately expressed surprise that I should have been able to write about Staffs and Ions while a war was raging in Ireland. We had no war. Hardly more than a skirmish—between the peasantry and the police. Not a red-coat was engaged in fighting from first to last, not a man was lost on the side of Government, and very few on the part of the people. All this has caused great amazement and some indignation in America. This would cease to be the case if you knew what mere bags of wind Irish brawlers are, both at home and abroad; and how very different the physical geology of Ireland is from that of the United States. The brawlers care nothing for truth and as little for honesty; they lie without measure and promise without the slightest regard to performance. We have had a few honest enthusiasts who meant what they said, and believed what their followers swore to. But the majority of the politicians and of the people are so corrupted and demoralized by the mendacious, unscrupulous leadership of O'Connell and by the slave's lessons they have imbibed from English misrule in former times, that it is a thousand pities such well intentioned men as Mitchel, Smith O'Brien, and a few more should have sacrificed themselves to so little purpose. Then it should be recollected that Ireland is a little country, not larger than one of your New England States. The land is open and comparatively destitute of trees. It is thickly intersected with roads, and these roads even in very wild and thinly inhabited parts are as good as the best in the United States. The peasantry—the tillers of the soil—who form a large majority of our population—are generally unarmed, ignorant of military discipline, without disciplined leaders. Military drilling is illegal.—They are closely watched by the police who are scattered throughout the whole country, and are picked men, young, well fed, well paid, and attached to the Government by the ties of good pay and good bread and butter. In many parts of Ireland you will rarely see as well fed, well clad men except among the police. The people are miserably fed, miserably clothed, hardly able to keep body and soul together. They are ignorant, oppressed by their landlords, besotted by their priests, overwhelmed with wretchedness, ignorance and superstition. Add to all this that Ireland is occupied by two nations—the poor native Irish on one side—and on the other side the native Irish who have property to lose, and 99 out of 100 of the Protestants. When you consider that this latter class comprehend the vast majority of the wealth and intelligence of the country, you will admit that nobody except a crazed enthusiast, an ignoramus or a fool, could for a moment entertain the notion that our miserable peasantry have any chance against 50,000 troops, and the richest, and most powerful, and most concentrated Government the world ever saw. Ireland is a miserably divided country—it is truly a "house divided against itself." It is hard to hope for improvement in the people, or effectual reform from the Government. England as well as Ireland is ruled by an aristocracy who suck the vitals of the people. The enormous taxation is laid on to pay for the past extravagance of the aristocracy, or to defray their present or future exactions. The democratic element in our constitution is completely overborne to the benefit of the peerage or their creatures.

We all see around us many intelligent, benevolent people, who know nothing and care less for those efforts for popular regeneration that appear to us of so much importance. They care nothing for Anti Slavery—or temperance—or sanatory reform, or the promulgation of peace principles. The gallows don't shock them—nor the abomination of the military life.—They don't trouble themselves about the extension of popular education. We all remember the time when we were equally indifferent to the reformatory movements of our time until the pages of some tract—or of some book, or a chance conversation with some friend or a stranger, opened our eyes and we felt as if a new world, new duties, new prospects, had arisen upon our view. We became, in our conviction at least, new men. The experience that we have had others may chance to have. I never thought, or cared, or knew much about American Slavery till I met with George Thompson, and read Harriet Martineau's "Martyr age in the United States." How memorable in our personal recollections is the day when some such revelation awakened us. How exquisite are the sensations of new life, new hopes, new aspirations, that accompany such an experience. I lately felt something of this kind—but not so vividly nor delightfully as in former years, in a discovery I have made of a great man.—Many years ago when I first became deeply interested in the Anti-Slavery cause, and acquainted with its friends on this side of the Atlantic, Elizabeth Pease amongst the number, I heard from her of Joseph Barker of Newcastle—a sort of come-outer from the Methodists—who retained their doctrines whilst he eschewed the priestly assumption of their teachers. He was a fluent and prolific writer. He had raised himself from the condition of a mere pauper without shoes or stockings; he had mastered enough of Greek and Latin for the prosecution of his theological studies; he wielded a powerful pen, his style was forcible and clear, and exactly of that kind which is most taking with the poor. Neither hazy, metaphorical, or farfetched, it appealed to the common-sense of the reader. Any one could understand him. He was a most vigorous advocate of temperance, and he continued to lecture and to preach among the poor, regardless of the frowns and discouragements of his former associates. This was not a man to stand still. His inquiring mind would not let him remain in the trammels of any system of theology. He broke loose from orthodoxy, and became so heterodox in his opinions and proved himself such an able and energetic advocate of their views that the Unitarians—that respectable and aristocratic sect—received his adhesion to their *doxy* with undisguised satisfaction. He was invited to preach in their chapels in all parts of the Kingdom. But his ministry was chiefly among the poor in the large towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire. And as he was opposed to a hireling ministry, and maintained and advocated republican opinions in politics, the Unitarians soon ceased to evince much anxiety to retain so disreputable an adherent. It is decidedly low to profess republicanism in England. Republicanism and anarchy—republicanism and infidelity—republicanism and socialism, or communism, are associated in the minds of nineteen twentieths of all Englishmen who have any pretension to respectability. I observe that priests and preachers who talk *at* the public in America are generally flaming republicans. Here they are almost invariably loud in their professions of loyalty, hating republicanism as they hate the devil, and with as much sincerity.

About two years ago Joseph Barker visited Dublin, and stopped with me while in town. I was greatly interested by his racy vigorous original and fearless talk. There was an honesty of purpose, a strenuous energy, a dauntless determination about him such as you—or at least I—do not often meet. I have heard such a man described as an *upright downright* man. Joseph Barker—I found to be an upright downright man. He spoke unreservedly of his early life steeped as it was in poverty and difficulty, and he had a peculiarly vivid recollection of his fellow labourers in later years—the Methodist preachers. After this visit I heard very little of him till within the last few weeks James Haughton called in on me one day with an account of a new penny paper, called "*The People*," published in the neighbourhood of Leeds, by Joseph Barker, full of the most unsparing denunciations of the aristocracy and of the corruption maintained for their benefit in the administration of the Imperial Government. I got the papers, and was amazed by the coolness, courage, vigour, clearness, and copiousness of his style, and the strength of conviction expressed by him that there is no hope for the people of England—I mean the working people—till they have rid themselves of royalty and aristocracy. His heart is so absorbed in his subject that he carries his reader along with him. You feel as if there was no room to doubt what is asserted with so much vehemence, and supported by so many undeniable illustrations. There is a spirit of self-sacrifice—of devotion—an absence of all pecuniary greed about him that you cannot but respect. He reminded me strongly of Garrison in the early part of his career. The same self-conviction of the truths of his assertions. The same fearlessness, the same energy—the same *hard language* which he defended in the same way, by declaring that he spoke only the truth—that he will continue to speak the truth, and that if convicted of falsehood or exaggerations, he will willingly retract it. He tells the people they are degraded and kept down by the exactions of the Government and the policy of the aristocracy, with their laws of entail and primogeniture which enable them to absorb the landed property of the country, and to hold themselves firmly seated on the necks of the producing classes. This is a dangerous man—one of the most dangerous to the existing state of things, that I have ever known. He is an English Mitchel. His style is as forcible and he is additionally formidable because, although he does not advocate non-resistance, his counsels are all for peaceful agitation. He eschews violence and has for his audience the working people in that part of England where they are most intelligent. Such a man is most formidable. His name was lately presented, with that of 45 others by the grand jury of Lancashire, for conspiracy and sedition—but no further steps was taken till his name was put forward by some of his democratic friends as member of Parliament for Bolton. He was then arrested—on the very eve of the election, as was supposed, in order to prevent him from appearing. He was kept in prison one night, and was bailed out next day, just in time to hear on his arrival at Bolton, that the election had concluded—that another candidate (a tory) had been declared elected, but owing to a blunder of the returning officer, he would himself in all probability be the sitting member.

He published a most amusing account of his arrest and imprisonment, which formed an extra to his paper, "The People," and was circulated in vast numbers through the North of England. I have never read any writings that represent so clearly the enormous exactions inseparable from the maintenance of our aristocratic system. But as often happens, he is abler as a puller-down than a builder up.—Many of his remedies are impracticable, and he is fonder of telling the people of the faults of the rich than of their own want of economy and self-restraint, and their need of moral reform. The money spent by the English people in strong drink in a single year is double the amount of their enormous annual taxation. Two wrongs never made one right—but the wrong done to the labouring poor by themselves is much greater than that which is done to them by any one or every one else. He is now, as I have said, out on bail, and when he is brought to trial it is hard to say what the result will be. His is the only instance I have lately heard of the arrest of a moral force Chartist. He is a moral force Chartist, inasmuch as he warns the people against conspiracy and violent actions. But if I were a ruler, I would rather contend with ten Mitchels than one Joseph Barker. I think it most probable he will be convicted of sedition, and imprisoned or transported. It is said that the Government can generally pack a jury in political trials—that is to say, they can select the men that through prejudice, fear, or favour, are likely to give such a verdict as the Government wish for. In the Chartist trials that have recently taken place in England, the verdicts have all been against the prisoners. A strong feeling prevails that these Chartists are the victims of men employed and paid by the Government to urge and tempt them on to deeds of violence—and that if the Government had let the people alone very little would have been heard of insurrection in England.

This morning we have the news of the conviction of William Smith O'Brien, of high treason, at the special commission at Clonmel, in the county of Tipperary, where the late abortive rebellion broke forth, and to which I believe it was confined. The verdict was accompanied by a unanimous recommendation to mercy—for a general feeling of compassion prevailed towards him, as he is looked on as a weak man, led astray by mistaken ideas of patriotism, and of his own fitness to take a leading part in securing the independence of Ireland. If his life be taken it will be considered, by the vast majority of the people, an act of impolitic and useless cruelty. And if he be not put to death, nobody else connected with the disturbances can be, for he was the leader in the only overt attempt at insurrection. The Government might possibly be glad to hang him for he has given them a world of trouble, but I hope they wont show themselves as foolish as he was without an apology of his infatuation.

If you wish for a book to read with pleasure and profit, I can confidently recommend to you Harriet Martineau's Eastern Travels, published some months ago. I got a loan of it lately—and I know of no book of its kind so delightful.—Egypt and Palestine have a new interest in my eye since I read her account of them. I never before had the same sense of the vast and mysterious antiquity of the mighty works of Egypt. I never before had so impressed on my imagination the sacred associations and glorious scenery of Palestine. Eschewing the superstitions that desecrate the most deeply interesting localities of the Holy Lands. She looks upon those places with the eye of a painter, and a heart full of genuine, poetical, and religious feeling—so that such a feast of learning, antiquities, adoration, racy descriptions and disquisition at once pleasant and profound, you may not meet again for ever so long. She is so cheerful and stronghearted, so out-spoken and courageous—that the book is a moral tonic—you can't help catching the infection. Her book will not be belied by the sects—but I am greatly mistaken if the come-outers don't like it as well as I do—and if they sympathize in any pleasure, and thank me as they ought for my recommendation, I shall be quite satisfied.

I have nothing pleasant to tell you of the present state of Ireland. Without figures of speech, we are now during the suspension of the habeas corpus act, under an absolute despotism, so there is little expression of opinion, except on the one side. I think the people feel depressed and mortified. The potatoes, too, have failed again, and I believe the failure is nearly as complete as in 1846. It is difficult to get a good potato. When they are not diseased, they are wet, soapy, and unfit for human food. The quantity planted was very great—but they were chiefly cultivated by gentlemen, and farmers who had some capital—so the direct loss will not fall upon the poor, though they will suffer from the comparative dearness of food. Thanks to the abolition of the Corn Laws, we can never suffer such another famine—for we shall never again depend so entirely upon one description of food. The condition of the west of Ireland is, I believe, nearly as miserable as ever. A friend of mine, who lately visited the barony of Erris in the county of Mayo, which I have mentioned to you so often, said that the only large number of people he saw there was a crowd of about 200 wretches removing from one part of the country to another in search of gratuitous relief. In many Poor Law Unions, it is a mystery how the poor who are not paupers can support, even in the poorest way, the vast majority of those who have neither bread to eat nor the means of earning it. I suppose we all think if we had lived when such things were doing, we should not have helped to starve the prophets, nor danced while Rome was burning, nor assisted at an auto-da-fe, nor gone to a ball during the Reign of Terror. It is hard to tell. Whilst Smith O'Brien, one of the most high-minded and well-intentioned men that ever trod our soil, lies under sentence to be hung by the neck till he is dead, and his head cut off, his body to be divided into four quarters, and to be disposed of at *her Majesty's* pleasure (pleasant work for a lady!) whilst this grim work is going on, half Dublin is running stark mad after Jenny Lind. She makes her first appearance to-night, and, I am told, is to get two thousand pounds for four night's warbling. And so the world goes round. The price of tickets range 30 shillings downwards to 5. So you see that although there is more horrible, excessive, squalid, filthy, emaciated poverty in Ireland than in any other country on earth, we are not all reduced to penury.

Will you tell H. C. Wright I received his note from Ohio, and that I was heartily glad to hear from him again, and of his interview with Joshua R. Giddings. Of all the recent speeches in Congress against Slavery, that of Giddings was the finest. It warmed my heart with hopes for your country. I would walk a long way to see Joshua Giddings. It is dismal to contrast the state of Ireland with that which H. C Wright gives of the people of Ohio, moral, physical, and intellectual. RICHARD D. WEBB.

Foreign Intelligence.

ONE WEEK

LATER FROM EUROPE.

ARRIVAL OF THE STEAMSHIP HIBERNIA.

THE HIBERNIA arrived at Boston on Friday last, having sailed from Liverpool on the 21st ultimo.

ENGLAND.

The alarm which was at first created by the appearance of the cholera has scarcely abated. The Registrar General of London has reported thirty additional cases only, up to last Saturday, but, on the other hand, the general health is better this year than in ordinary years, only 991 deaths having been recorded last week within the bills of mortality, against 1,154 upon an average of five years.—There is only one case reported at Birmingham. At Manchester not a single case has yet occurred. Liverpool has, so far, escaped the pestilence. In the city of Edinburg the ravages of the disease seem to have been rather more extensive than in any other place, whilst the port of Leith has, comparatively, escaped. Its appearance, however, at the little fishing village of New Haven, establishes, without a doubt, the fact of its malignant presence in that quarter.

The Government has already become satisfied that the pecuniary measures of quarantine are altogether unnecessary, since they have determined to do away entirely with the regulations which enforce the observance of quarantine, even in the cases where deaths have occurred from Asiatic cholera on board vessels coming from continental ports.

IRELAND.

Certain resolutions have been taken by the Catholic clergy of Dublin, which are of considerable importance. They deprecate the proposed measures of a state provision for the Catholic priesthood in Ireland, and implore the Government to employ for the immediate relief of the poor, all the funds at its disposal, and to use all its influence to effect such an equitable adjustment, of the relations between landlord and tenant, as shall stimulate an outlay of capital, ensure the employment of the able bodies, and increase the products of the soil.

O'Donoghue, after some hours deliberation, has been found guilty, and a recommendation of mercy accorded, in consequence of his having withdrawn or disconnected himself from his associates, previous to the attack on Farriarcry. The trial of Thomas Francis Meagher commenced on Monday morning, and the interest which had subsided at Clonmel during the trials of McManus and O'Donoghue, has now revived.

THE OTHER PRISONERS.—The city calendar contains the following names, from which it will be observed that Mr. Gavan Duffy is to be tried for felony, and not for high treason.

"Charles Gavan Duffy, aged 32, felony, by publishing the *Nation*; Richard Dalton Williams, 27, felony, by publishing the *Irish Tribune*; Revin Izod O'Doherty, 24, felony, by publishing the *Irish Tribune*."

Yesterday the Board of Superintendence of Newgate met, and issued an order, prohibiting all intercourse with those prisoners, with the sole exception of their nearest female relatives.

Mr. John Lawless, one of the State prisoners, was yesterday removed from Newgate, to give evidence at Clonmel, on behalf of Mr. Meagher.

ATTEMPTED ESCAPE.—On Monday, about 11 o'clock, the Governor of Newgate prison, John Smith, Esq., in consequence of private information which he received, accompanied by Mr. Bell, the Registrar, John Carter, Turnkey, and Constable B. 42, John Daragh, proceeded to the room which has been occupied by Mr. Gaven Duffy since his arrest, and found there a valise. On its being opened Carter found it to contain a well-constructed rope ladder, and in the top compartment a new rope, all about 40 feet in length. These articles were taken away, and three of the prisoners, Messrs. Duffy, Doherty and Williams, were removed to the criminal side of the prison, where additional precautions have been adopted to prevent escape. The room occupied by Mr. Duffy looked into Green-st. and the window opens into the street for the purpose of ventilation.—This room had been previously allocated for the use of debtors. There was nothing of the kind found in the apartments of the other prisoners.

PETITION IN FAVOUR OF SMITH O'BRIEN.—On Monday last, at 1½ o'clock, the Lord Mayor and several other gentlemen had an interview with the Lord Lieutenant, at the Viceregal Lodge, when they presented the following memorial to his Excellency:

"*To His Excellency Earl Clarendon, &c. &c.*

"May it please your Excellency, we, the undersigned, consisting principally of the inhabitants of Dublin and its vicinity, address your Excellency, as the representative in Ireland of her most gracious Majesty the Queen. We fully concur in the recommendation of the Jury by whom William Smith O'Brien has been found guilty, and we humbly and earnestly entreat the exercise of Her Majesty's gracious prerogative of mercy in his favour."

This memorial bore 25,300 signatures, obtained in the city of Dublin and the suburbs within the past three days. The Lord Mayor having read the memorial, his Excellency observed that, in order to avoid misconception, he thought it proper to give a written answer to the deputation. He then read the following:

"As it appears to be the wish of Mr. Sharman Crawford and the gentleman who accompanied him here last week, and subsequently of the Lord Mayor, that I should receive from the hands of a deputation this memorial, which has been so numerously signed by the inhabitants of Dublin, I have not hesitated to comply with that wish; but while the commission is still sitting at Clonmel, occupied with the trial of persons charged with the same offence as Mr. O'Brien, and having reference also to the notice of a writ of error that has been given, I need hardly inform you, and I feel certain you will not expect that I should now give any definite answer to the memorial, beyond an assurance that full weight will be given to the recommendation of the highly respectable Jury who tried Mr. O'Brien."

ESCAPE OF O'MAHONY.—It is said that Mr. O'Mahony, the rebel leader, escaped from Boumahon, County of Waterford, on Wednesday, and that he effected his escape by means of one of the vessels employed in taking away the produce of the copper mines in the neighbourhood.

FRANCE.

The system of agitation by banquets, which has just been inaugurated at the Barriers Poissonniere, is the subject of much comment in all circles. The doctrines openly promulgated, and the sentiments avowed, can scarce be conceived by those who are not present to witness with their ears and eyes the events of which this great Capital is the theater. Three Members of the Assembly were present, MM. Pierre Leroux, Prudhon and Greppo. M. Cabet, in eulogizing the men of '93, in saying that they traced out the conduct which ought to be pursued by those of to-day, and in making the gravest accusations against the old and new Ministry, against Gen. Cavaignac and the National Assembly, obtained immense success. M. Pierre Leroux, drank to the "Old Mountain, to Robespierre and to '93." [This toast was received by frenzied bravos, which lasted several minutes.] M. Madier de Montjau, the younger, renewed the attacks of M. Cabet against the power resulting from the Revolution of February, and made an allusion to the 15th of May, which was much applauded. M. Proudhon proposed a toast to the Republic of '92 and '93. In speaking of the Government, he said. "Yesterday we had a Ministry of Reaction; they now give us the Ministry of Conciliation. They employ themselves to know if we shall have a Republic—blue, white or red," [Applause.]

The banquet room was decorated with red flags; the principal stewards had red scarfs, the under stewards red ribbons on the arm, and the guests red cards in their hats. A subscription was made by MM. Langlois and Vasbeuter, for the red.

While MM. Pierre Leroux, Proudhon, Cabet, and Greppo are busy in the capital, their colleague, M. Ledru-Rollin, has started for the departments, there to excite the same spirit. He begins with Dijon, where a Democratic and Socialist banquet is to be held under his presidency. He then proceeds to Lyons, where a similar manifestation is in preparation. Avignon, Carpentras, &c. &c. follow in regular succession. The Ancient Mountain, the Republic of '93, Robespierre, and the Jacobins are everywhere inscribed on the flags of these *réunions*, and reverberate in furious shouts through their walls. To open the more freely these assemblages to all, the subscription is not to exceed a franc.

THE MARTINIQUE DEPUTIES.—The business at the sitting of the National Assembly on the 17th, formed a striking contrast to that of the day previous. It was devoted to a discussion on the report of the Committee on the Martinique election. The report recommended the annulment of the election of M. Bussette, and a Committee of Inquiry into the other elections. M. Bory Pepy, a mulatto, and Mayor of St. Pierre, strongly opposed the report, and declared that neither his colleagues nor himself had exercised the influence attributed to them over the elections. In the course of the discussion, some one having called for the "*clôture*," the President put the question suddenly to the vote, and declared it carried *par assis et leve*—a decision which gave rise to strong remonstrances from the Moderate party. Ultimately the debate was resumed, and the election pronounced legal.

CAVAIGNAC'S NEW MINISTRY.—Gen. Cavaignac, finding it impossible to resist the decided tone of the Assembly, has agreed to a slight modification of the Ministry. It has been got over very quietly, and without the least discussion in the Assembly.

The Ministry, as it now stands, is as follows: Marie, Justice; Bastide, Foreign Affairs; De Lamoriciere, War. Verninec, Marine and Colonies; Dufaure, Interior; Tourret, Agriculture and Commerce; Frelson, Public Instruction; Goudchaux, Finances; Vivien, Tourret, Frelson and De Lamoriciere, belong decidedly to the Moderate party.—MM. Marie, Bastide and Goudchaux, are counted as Republicans of the *veille*, although M. Marie was not one of those who would have advised the transition to a Republic in February. He would have supported a Regency under the Duchess of Orleans. The character and spirit of the new Cabinet may be judged from this, and the unbounded rage of the Republicans of the *veille* and the Democrats, may be easily conceived.

M. Brissot, grandson of the well-known member of the Convention of that name, has been appointed *chef du cabinet* of the Minister of Public Works.

M. Ducoux, Prefect of Police, has addressed the following letter to Gen. Cavaignac:

To the President of the Council of Ministers:

"CITIZEN PRESIDENT:—You have just constituted a Ministry which, in my eyes, is the personnification of the counter-revolution. The Republic is about to be directed, after eight months of existence, by men who have at all times employed their intelligence and their efforts to prevent its existence. The policy is, perhaps, able; but I do not comprehend it, and I still less approve of it.

"In presence of the dangers which threaten liberty in France, while it is triumphing in Germany, I go to resume my place among the adversaries of royalty, whom I shall combat, under whatever disguise. All the soldiers of Democracy ought to be at their posts, and mine is no longer where my political sympathies have ceased to be.

"Please to give me a successor. *Salut et fraternité.*

"THE PREFECT OF POLICE, DUCOUX."

General Cavaignac has complied with M. Ducoux's request to give him a successor.

From other parts of the continent, the news is of little moment, except that the state of anarchy reported in our last, continues in Austria. Vienna was in a state of seige but the Diet had resolved to stand firm at its post. The Hungarian troops are deserting the Austrian army in Italy in great numbers.

In Spain the Carlists have gained a victory over their opponents in Catalonia.

Election Returns.

We give below the result of the election as far as it is known when we go to press on Wednesday. The returns for the city are probably correct, but further returns from a distance may change entirely the aspect of affairs. It now looks as if Taylor was elected, and such we believe will be the final result.

CITY VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.

Taylor.	Cass.	Van Buren.	Smith.
28,867	19,062	5,099	105

Taylor over Cass—9,805. Do. over all—4,601.

City Officers Elected—(All Whigs:)

Surrogate—Alex. W. Bradford.
Recorder—Frederick Tallmadge.
Register—Cornelius V. Anderson.

Members of Congress—(do.)

3d District	J. Phillips Phoenix	1,000 maj.
4th "	Walter Underhill	1,000 "
5th "	George Briggs	2,000 "
6th "	James Brooks	2,000 "
Do. vacancy	Horace Greely	2,000 "

Members of Assembly—(Locos in Italics.)

District	Wards.	
District 1.	I. II.	Ephraim H. Hudson.
" 2	III. VI.	James Bowen.
" 3.	IV.	*Henry J. Allen.*
" 4.	V.	George J. Cornell.
" 5.	VII.	Samuel T. McKinney.
" 6.	VIII.	James W. Beekman.
" 7.	IX.	Abraham Van Orden.
" 8.	X.	William Dodge.
" 9.	XI.	Charles Perley.
" 10.	XII.	Gerrit H. Stryker.
" 11.	XIII.	Dr. Robert B. Folger.
" 12.	XIV.	*Daniel B. Taylor.*
" 13.	XV.	Joseph B. Varnum.
" 14.	XVI.	Robert G. Campbell.
" 15.	XVII.	Merwin R. Brewer.
" 16.	XVIII.	Albert Gilbert.

NEW-YORK STATE.

Members of Congress known to be elected.

II.—Kings and Richmond	David A. Bokee.
VII.—Dutchess and Putnam	Ransom Holloway.
XI.—Columbia and Greene	P. H. Sylvester.
XII.—Rensselaer	O. Reynolds.
XIII.—Albany	J. L. Schoolcraft.
XIV.—Washington and Essex	George R. Andrews.
XVI.—Saratoga, &c	White.
XX.—Oneida	O. B. Matteson.
XXIV.—Onondaga	Daniel Gott
XXV.—Cayuga, Cortland	*Harmon S. Conger.
XXVIII.—Monroe	Ab. M. Schermerhorn
XXIX.—Ontario, Livingston	*Robert L. Rose.
XXXI.—Chautauque, Cat'g'e	Elijah Risley.
XXXII.—Erie,	Elb'ge G Spaulding.
XXXIV.—Niagara, Orleans,	Lorenzo Burrows.

All Whigs, so far. * Members of the present House

VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.—IN THE STATES (*as far as heard from.*)

TAYLOR.		CASS.	
Massachusetts, no choice		Maine	9
Rhode Island	4	New Hampshire	6
Connecticut	6	Michigan	6
Vermont	6		—
New York	36	Total	20
New Jersey	7		
Pennsylvania	26	*Doubtful as yet.*	
Delaware	3	Virginia	17
Maryland	8	Ohio	23
North Carolina	11		
Kentucky	2		—
Total, *so far*	119	Total	61

Necessary to a choice, 146.

* May not be chosen by the People, but if not, then sure to be by the Legislature.

Dist.	Members elect to XXX 1st Congress:	
I.	Suffolk, &c.	John A. King, Whig, prob.
II.	Kings, &c.	David A. Bokee, "2,500 maj
III.	City, low Wds.	J. Philips Phoenix, 1,700 "
IV.	City, E. side.	Walter Underhill, 1,800 "
V.	City, W. side.	George Briggs, 2,400 "
VI.	City, up town.	James Brooks, 2,500 "
VII.	Westch'r, &c.	William Nelson, 700 "
VIII.	Dutchess, &c.	Ransom Halloway, 1,000 "
IX.	Orange, &c.	Thomas McKissock, 1,500 "
X.	Del & Ulster.	Herman D. Gould, reported.
XI.	Columbia, &c.	Peter H. Sylvester.
XII.	Rensselaer.	Gideon O. Reynolds.
XIII.	Albany,	John L. Schoolcraft.
XIV.	Washin, &c.	George R. Andrews.
XV.	Warren, &c.	John R. Thurman, prob.
XVI.	Saratoga, &c.	Hugh White, prob.
XVII.	Montgomery, &c.	H. P. Alexander, prob.
XVIII.	St Lawrence, &c.	*Preston King*, prob.
XIX.	Jefferson,	Chas. E. Clarke, prob.
XX.	Oneida,	Orsamus B. Matteson.
XXI.	Otsego, &c.	Thomas Smith, prob.
XXII.	Chenango, &c.	Henry Bennett. prob.
XXIII.	Oswego,	William Duer, prob.
XXIV.	Onondaga,	Daniel Gott.
XXV.	Cayuga, Cortland,	Hermen S. Conger.
XXVIII.	Monroe,	Ab. M Schermerhorn.
XXIX.	Ontario, Living'n.	Robert L. Rose.
XXX	Cheut'que, Cat'g's,	Elijah Risly.
XXXII.	Erie	Elb'ge Spaulding.
XXXIII.	Genesee, &c.	Hervey Putnam.
XXXI.	Niagara, Orleans	Lorenzo Burrows.

All Whigs, so far. * Members of the present House.

News Items.

Dr. Ganett stated in a sermon some months since, that Christianity seemed likely to be overthrown by philanthropy!—*Christian Rationalist.*

☞ AMHERST COLLEGE has received a donation from Hon. David Sears, consisting of real estate in the City of Boston, estimated by the donor to be of the value of $12,000 This, with $10,000, formerly bestowed, is to constitute the "Sear's Foundation of Literature and Benevolence."

THE LADY TRAVELLER.—Among the passengers in the *Washington* we notice the name of AMALIE PFEIFFER. We presume this is the Female Ledyard of whose eastern travels we gave a sketch last week, and who was designing a visit to this country.

FATHER MATHEW.—It has been stated that Father Mathew has indefinitely postponed his visit to America. It is not so, as we are assured by Colonel Sherburne, of Philadelphia, who returned from Europe in the Niagara. He states on the authority of a letter from him, over his own signature, which we had the pleasure of reading yesterday, that this Apostle of Temperance in the Old World, will visit this country in March next. We rejoice that it is so. We would go farther to see the reverend Father, than we would to see all the crowned heads of Europe.—*Newburyport Ad.*

YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS.—The deliberations of this body, which are being conducted in the Society's meeting-house, on West Lombard-st. continue to draw together a large number of the denomination, who resort thither daily, and manifest, by their undisturbed attention, an unusual interest in the proceedings. The east end of the building is occupied by males, while that of the west is occupied by the female members, for the transaction of the general business of the meeting. To-day the partition which divides the house will be drawn up, when public exercises will be resumed, upon which occasion a number of addresses will be delivered by, it is expected, members of both sexes. The States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey and Delaware, are largely represented at the present assembling.—*Baltimore Sun.* 1st.

REVENGE OF A "SYMPATHIZER."—The *Boston Chronotype* gives the following account of a case before the Police Court in that city on Tuesday last:

Mr. Michael Gallagher, a well-to-do Irish gentleman "all of the *modern* time" belonging in the town of Canton, being in the city upon some business, and being also one of those who naturally and literally live in excitement, somehow became unusually impressed with the wrongs of his Fatherland—and under an *ardency* of spirits induced probably by his reflections, he fancied that Capt. Alexander Ryrie, of the Steamship Niagara, had been guilty of disrespect towards a warm friend of Smith O'Brien. He accordingly gained admission to the Captain's room at the Albion Hotel, and confronting that gentleman, inquired if he was the author of a certain article in *The New York Tribune* relative to John T. Doyle—and being answered in the affirmative, aimed a heavy blow at Captain Ryrie, which, however, the latter fortunately parried, and thus escaped its effects.

An alarm was immediately sounded, which brought Lieut. Moffet, British Mail Agent, to the assistance of Captain R. and upon his interfering, one of his hands was seized and bitten by Gallagher, who was shortly handed over to the Police and complained of for assaulting both the above named gentlemen.

In Court, we must say, the conduct of Captain Ryrie toward Mr. Walsh, counsel for defendant, tended much to strengthen conviction of the truth of Mr. Doyle's charges against him. He seemed to reign in the Hall of Justice an assumed "right to command," and two or three times interrupted the counsel in a dictatorial and highly improper manner, and one which, as Mr. Walsh remarked, had it been the act of a witness with less "titular dignity," might have consigned him to the lock-up.

As Gallagher offered no evidence in his defence, he was sentenced to pay a fine of $10 and costs, and Captain Ryrie having made oath that he was fearful of farther violence, he was farther ordered to give bonds in $200 to keep the peace for one month.

Married.

In Worcester Mass. on the 27th inst., at Friends' Meeting House, DOCTOR GEORGE S. COLLINS, of Providence, to LAURA S. CAPRON, daughter of Effingham L. Capron, of that city.

In Portsmouth, N. H., FRANCIS BOWEN, Esq. to Miss ARABELLA STEWART, both of Cambridge, Mass.

In Rio Janerio, July 25, WILLIAM S. DADSON, eldest surviving son of John Dadson, Esq, of St. Peter's Port, in the Island of Guernsey, to SUSANNAH SARAH, second surviving daughter of the late Joseph Astor, Esq., and grandniece of the late John Jacob Astor, Esq, of New York.

Died.

On the evening of the 14th ultimo, SARAH PENNOCK, daughter of Abraham L. Pennock of Upper Darby, Delaware County, in the 28th year of her age.

Her life was marked by great simplicity, purity and unpretendingness,—by daily and unwearied devotion to works of love—For the poor and outcast, for the suffering slave, and for the neglected child, she laboured by word, and deed. Regarding the fruits of unpaid toil as the "gain of oppression," she sought by abstinence therefrom to "wash her hands in innocency."—*Pa. Freeman.*

In the circle of her friends, to whom she was very dear, her place cannot soon be filled;—still her example remains for all; and with it this promise:

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

In Boston on the 3d inst, ELLEN, wife of R. W. Hooper, M. D., and daughter of William Sturgis.

In Brattleborough, Vt. at the Water Cure Establisment 29th ult, MAJOR WM. MCCLINTOCK, U. S. Army, 57.

At Castle Howard, Yorkshire (England,) the EARL OF CARLISLE, K G aged 76. His son GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK VISCOUNT MORPETH succeeds to his titles and estates.

Notices.

ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR 1848-9.

The time has arrived when it behooves the friends of the cause to be earnest and instant in their preparations for the approaching festival. It is our intention that the Anti-Slavery Bazaar shall open on the morning of WEDNESDAY the 20th of December (not Thursday, the 21st, as has been heretofore advertised.) We shall be engaged in the preparation and decoration of the Hall for several days previous. It is therefore desirable that all the friends who design to make contributions of running vine, fir, hemlock and other greenery, should bring it to the city as early as FRIDAY, THE 15TH OF DECEMBER WITHOUT FAIL. By calling at the Anti-Slavery Office, they will be directed what disposition to make of it. We DEPEND unhesitatingly upon the friends who assisted last year, in respect both to contributions of green, and to their own personal assistance at the time of preparation. We trust that not one who aided last year, will fail us this. The absence from the country of many active friends, renders the assistance of all who remain, a matter of absolute necessity.

The Abolitionists of Great Britain are labouring for us as earnestly as in previous years, and a Bazaar that shall equal its predecessors, alike in beauty and pecuniary success, may be confidently anticipated, if the friends in Boston and its neighbourhood, say 20 miles around, will give their personal aid and co-operation that circumstances make essential.

Supplies for the Refreshment Table and Ladies' Refreshment Room (the latter of a plain, simple kind) will be highly acceptable. We shall refer to this point more particularly as the Fair approaches, but mention it at this early day, that our friends throughout the country may be making their arrangements

ANNE W. WESTON,
For the Committee.

ASSISTANT (PA.) FAIR COMMITTEE.

Our friends, whose names are upon this list, appointed by direction of the State Society, are earnestly requested to use diligent efforts in their respective neighbourhoods, to interest all who condemn Slavery *to do something* that will increase the amount of goods to be offered for sale in December.—Any assistance from others will of course be gladly accepted.

DARBY.
S. & A. Pennock,
R. & E. Sellers,
John Sellers, jr.
James Sellers, jr.
MARION.
Mary Bowman,
J & S Wainwright.
MARPLE.
James Lewis,
Ezekiel Highgate.
WEST CHESTER.
H. & M Darlington,
Samuel B Thomas,
Amelia Schadd,
Margaret Hoopes.
DOWNINGTOWN
M. B. & L. Thomas.
LANCASTER.
S. & E. Coats,
Anna Whitson,
Ann Eliza Hambleton,
Ann Eliza Kent.
ANDREW'S BRIDGE.
Rachel Brosius,
Letitia Brosius.
DRUMORE.
Rebecca Smith,
Joseph Smith,
Mary Cutler,
HARRISBURG.
Agnes Crain,
Ellen Rutherford,
ISABELLA FURNACE.
Rebecca S. Potts,
Joseph D. Potts.
UWCHLAN.
William Speakman.
KIMBERTON.
Abbey Kimber,
Grace Anna Lewis,
Edwin Fussell.
SCHUYLKILL.
Mary R. Matlack,
Caroline Richards.
PHŒNIXVILLE.
Lydia P Jacobs,
Sarah W. Pennypacker,
Sarah Adamson,
William Taylor.
NORRISTOWN.
Isaac Roberts,
Emma S. Paxon,
Helen Cashman,
Sarah Jones
PLYMOUTH.
Hiram Corson,
Martha Corson.
BYBERRY.
Sarah Pierce,
Robert Purvis,
Ann Walmsley,
Augustine James.

BRISTOL.
Eliza Swain,
Elizabeth Cabeen.
Edward & Fanny Laing.
PENN'S MANOR.
Mary Ivins,
Barclay Ivins,
Mary T. Ivins.
ATTLEBORO'.
Sarah Wilson,
Mary Stackhouse.
NEWTOWN.
Achsah James,
Francenia Schofield,
Mary Buckman,
Jane Bond.
PINEVILLE.
Dr. W. Trego,
W. H. Johnson,
Henry Twining.
YARDLEYVILLE.
Harriet Longshore,
Sarah H. Yardley,
Rachel Bond.
SADSBURY.
Emily Pickering,
Elizabeth S Betts,
Aaron Phillips,
Mary Megill,
TRENTON.
James Whitehead,
Esther Whitehead.
WOODSTOWN.
Mary Hollinshead,
Lavinia Reed.
SALEM.
Elizabeth Goodwin,
Abby Goodwin.
WILMINGTON.
Rachel Basset,
Ann Semple,
I. & E. P. Flint,
Edward Webb.
NEWARK.
S & Mary Tyson.
CENTREVILLE.
Eliza Agnew,
Allen Agnew.
KENNETT.
Hannah Cox,
Mary K. Darlington,
Sydney Pierce,
Samuel Pennock,
Mary Pennock.
FALLOWFIELD.
Susan Fulton,
Lukens Pierce,
Sarah Coates,
LONDON GROVE.
Alice Jackson,
Ann Preston.
MARLBOROUGH.
Simon & Sarah Barnard.

THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR OF 1848.

Demands of all the friends of the slave in this region, prompt and vigorous efforts in its preparation. We know some of them, both in town and country, have long been busily at work in its behalf. So well is it understood and felt, that the Fair belongs to Pennsylvania Abolitionists generally, that our Annual summons to the work seems scarcely needed, and almost a form. But we issue it as a word of remembrance to the interested, and to arouse the lethargic—and to announce—at this important crisis—to an increasingly sympathizing community, an opportunity to labour for the cause. We invite the co operation of every heart that loves the slave, and would prove its love by its deeds.

To our numerous fellow-labourers in city and country it cannot be unnecessary to speak on the subject of the best manner of preparing for the Fair. In such preparation they are well skilled. To those to whom the work may be new we say all pretty or marketable commodities will be valuable.

To *all* we say, make the slave's cause your own, if possible, and give liberally as God hath given you.

Sarah Pugh,	*Esther Reckless,*
A. Matilda Cassey,	*Maria M. Davis,*
Anna M. Hopper,	*Elizabeth Gay,*
Janette Jackson,	*Hannah W. Haydock,*
Margaret A. Griscom,	*Elizabeth Davis,*
Mary Grew,	*Emma Parker,*
Margaret Jones,	*Gertrude K. Burleigh,*
Hannah L Stickney,	*Emily A. Winslow,*
Mary T. Stickney,	*Clementine G. Ruby,*
Sarah A. T. McKim,	*Martha Carmon,*
Theresa K. Hallowell,	*Sarah T. Child,*
Hulda Justice,	*Anna M. Child,*
Elizabeth Corman,	*Mary Shaw,*
Harriet D Purvis,	*Margaret Forten,*
Priscilla Lukens,	*Esther Hogeland,*
Sarah M. Douglass,	*Esther Burr,*

Elizabeth Clendenen.

FIFTEENTH

National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

The undersigned, earnestly desiring [illegible] to consider what means may be found sufficient for the accomplishment of this great and holy object. They find that Slavery exists through the selfishness, the ignorance, the cowardice, the hypocrisy of the people. If the nation could be made more conscientious, disinterested, courageous, enlightened, and true to its own political and religious principles, the work were done. Until enough nobility of spirit can be awakened in the land to make the clergyman, the farmer, the lawyer, the mechanic, the merchant and the politician, willing to renounce their hopes of worldly success, and see their respective careers of individual advancement closed up, apparently forever, by their allegiance to Freedom;—to make the women of the land feel themselves disgraced by their indifference to such a cause as this;—to make the Christians and citizens of the land willing to bear the suffering and odium consequent upon an adherence to the right against law and custom;—until this can be accomplished, the Southern slaveholders are upheld in their sin by the powerful support of Christian fellowship, social sanction, and civil participation.

We determine, therefore, to strike at once at the root of Slavery, by appealing to the hearts and consciences of men and withdrawing their allegiance from such shameful cruelty and wrong, by the continual presentation of the paramount claims of Freedom and Humanity. Union being strength that fact decides us to co-operate with any whose principles prove them to be trustworthy; who make the abolition of Slavery their primary object; and who, in addition to their honesty of purpose, have sense and sagacity enough to make them safe coadjutors, by securing them from becoming the prey of the selfish set of hypocritical adventurers that every moral revolution calls forth. We find such a sufficient and trustworthy body nowhere but in the American Anti Slavery Society. Years of close observation of its righteous principles and uncompromising practical workings, assure us that it has the elements of success. It continually sends forth lecturers to enforce the principles of justice and humanity among the people, and in a few years is found thereby to have exercised a controlling influence for good throughout the country. It dictates the course and bends the policy of every political party: and, speaking as it does from a height above their selfish personal struggles, its words of everlasting truth are heard, and more and more obeyed. While calling on all to unite with it, it has ever, by the energy and rectitude of its progress, been free without license, and elective without invidiousness. It is not too much to say in its praise, that its cause and its course repel all but the wise, the good, and the bold from active co operation with it, and brand with dishonour the hand that approaches it to make it the instrument of any selfish purpose. It has no local attachments, no partizan or sectarian partialities, no hidden aim, no double purpose; while, at the same time, every observer notices how happily its labours prepare the way for every good work: for, though specific in its object, its great principle of *immediate individual reform*, without awaiting the gradualisms of party politics, legislative action, and judicial decision, is one of universal application.

This, therefore, is the mode of operation which commends itself to our reason and feelings. The agents and friends which such an association of necessity draws forth, are the ones that we wish to sustain. The periodicals that such an association employs are the ones that we wish to circulate. In the councils of such a body where all persons have equal rights of membership, the *whole* collective energy and judgment are constantly in use, and the chances and means of success consequently doubled.

Hence we find it to be our duty, in preparing for the FIFTEENTH NATIONAL ANTI SLAVERY BAZAAR to commence in FANEUIL HALL BOSTON, on Thursday, DECEMBER 21st, to devote the funds then raised, to sustain the AMERICAN ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY, in its sacred work of moral agitation and revolution in behalf of the enslaved and confidently appeal to all good hearts EVERYWHERE, in aid of so noble an enterprise.

M. W. Chapman,	*Sarah B. Shaw,*
Ann T. G. Phillips,	*Mary G. Chapman,*
Helen E. Garrison,	*Caroline Weston,*
Mary May,	*Susan C. Cabot,*
Eliza Lee Follen,	*Henrietta Sargent,*
Sarah S. Russell,	*Hannah Tufts,*
Louiza Loring,	*Eliza F. Meriam,*
Mary Young,	*Caroline F. Williams,*
Mary Willey,	*Evelina S. A. Smith,*
Anne Warren Weston,	*Sarah H. Southwick,*
Maria Lowell,	*Ann R. Bramhall,*
Francis Mary Robbins,	*Harriet T. White,*
Lydia Parker,	*Abby Francis,*
Harriet B. Hall,	*Abby Southwick,*
Catharine Sargent,	*Harriet M. Jackson.*

All persons desiring the privilege of co-operating with us in this joyful and holy work, are informed that the pecuniary value of donations of money and materials, is doubled to the cause through the means of the Bazaar, by the care, skill, and ingenuity which are entrusted with their management to *Supplies for the refreshment table are particularly desired.*

Friends of the cause aware of the advantages accruing.—it from The Liberty Bell, are requested to forward their donations and articles *immediately*, or as soon as convenient.

Friends in England, Scotland, and Ireland are requested to address their contributions as usual, to MARIA W. CHAPMAN, care of A. W. Weston, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Contributions and letters from the American side of the Atlantic, hitherto addressed to M W. Chapman, may be addressed to ANNE W. WESTON.

Communications from friends in the country respecting lodgings for ladies intending to furnish tables, should be addressed to ELIZA F. MERIAM, Boston.

Members of the Committee who will be in Europe during the remainder of the year, will be most happy to receive donations for the purchase of choice and rare foreign articles for the Bazaar. Address CAROLINE WESTON, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Every friend who furnished evergreen for the decoration of the Hall last year, is entreated, for the sake of the cause, to continue the same good office, by *seasonably* gathering the exquisite "running green," and red cedar trees, and bringing them to Boston, on Saturday, December 13th, thus allowing the indispensable three days before the 21st, for the arrangements.

Poetry.

For the Standard.

THE PLAGUE SPOT OF SLAVERY.

And must it spread—that festering spot,
Until it taints the nation's core,
And all becomes one hideous blot,
One vast immedicable sore?
Can there no potent balm be found—
No burning caustic,—keen edged knife,
No fearless hand to probe the wound,
And boldly dare to succour life?

Limb after limb more feeble grows;
The joints relax, and lose their strength;
From vein to vein the virus flows,
Till all will poison'd be at length;
And tho' the massy giant frame,
Still seems to wear the hue of health,
Alas! 'tis but the fever flame,
That marks the dire destroyers stealth.

How loathsome will the ruin be,
How foul the lifeless carcass show;
The gazer from the sight will flee,
Nor linger burial to bestow,
And shrinking friendship shun the proof,
And love forswear it sacred trust,
And pity shuddering stand aloof,
Fill'd with unutterable disgust.

Speak! shall it spread? 'twere surely best
A limb or two to lop away,
Than all should suffer by the pest,
And every portion feel decay.
Oh! for some balm to spread around
To stay the sore, and save the life—
Or that some fearless one was found
To use the caustic or the knife.

JAMES STILLMAN.

The following fine Ode by James Russell Lowell was sung by the School Children at the Celebration last week at Boston of the admission of water into that city:

My name is water! I have sped
Through strange dark ways untried before,
By pure desire of friendship led,
Cochituate's Ambassador;
He sends four royal gifts by me,
Long life, health, peace, and purity.

I'm Ceres' cup-bearer; I pour
For flowers and fruits and all their kin,
Her crystal vintage, from of yore
Stored in old Earth's selectest bin,
Flora's Falernian ripe, since God
The wine-press of the deluge trod.

In that far isle, whence, iron-willed,
The new-world's sires their bark unmoored,
The fairies' acorn cups I filled
Upon the toad-stool's silver board,
And, 'neath Herne's oak, for Shakspeare's sight,
Strewed moss and grass with diamonds bright.

No fairies in the May-Flower came,
And, lightsome as I sparkle here,
For mother Bay State, busy dame,
I've toiled and drudged this many a year,
Throbbed in her engine's iron veins,
Twirled myriad spindles for her gains.

I, too, can weave the warp I set
Through which the sun his shuttle throws,
And, bright as Noah saw it, yet
For you the arching rainbow glows,
A sight in Paradise denied
To unfallen Adam and his bride.

When winter held me in his grip,
You seized and sent me o'er the wave,
Ungrateful! in a prison-ship:
But I forgive, not long a slave,
For, soon as summer south winds blew,
Homeward I fled disguised as dew.

For countless services I'm fit,
Of use, of pleasure, and of gain,
But lightly from all bonds I flit,
From mill and wash-tub I escape
And take in heaven my proper shape.

So free myself, to-day, elate
I come from far o'er hill and mead,
And here, Cochituate's Envoy, wait
To be your blithesome Ganymede,
And brim your cups with nectar true
That never will make slaves of you.

Miscellany.

From the Literary World.

THE MAN IN THE RESERVOIR:

A FANTASIE PIECE.

You may see some of the best society in New York on the top of the Distributing Reservoir, any of these fine October mornings. There were two or three carriages in waiting, and half a dozen senatorial-looking mothers with young children, pacing the parapet, as we basked there the other day in the sunshine—now watching the pickerel that glide along the lucid edges of the black pool within, and now looking off upon the scenes of rich and woodrous variety that spreads along the two rivers on either side.

"They may talk of Alpheus and Arethusa" murmured an idling sophomore, who had found his way thither during recitation hours, "but the Croton in passing over an arm of the sea at Spuyten-duyvil, and bursting to sight again in this truncated pyramid, beats it all hollow. By George, too, the bay yonder looks as blue as ever the Ægean Sea to Byron's eye, gazing from the Acropolis! But the painted foliage on those crags!—the Greeks must have dreamed of such a vegetable phenomenon in the midst of their greyish olive groves, or they never would have supplied the want of it in their landscape by embroidering their marble temples with gay colours. Did you see that pike brake, Sir?"

"I did not."

"Zounds! his silver fin flashed upon the black Acheron, like a restless soul that hoped yet to mount from the pool."

"The place seems suggestive of fancies to you?" we observed in reply to the rattlepate.

"It is, indeed, for I have done up a good deal of anxious thinking within a circle of a few yards where that fish broke just now."

"A singular place for meditation—the middle of the reservoir!"

"You look incredulous, Sir—but it's a fact. A fellow can never tell, until he is tried, in what situation his most earnest meditations may be concentrated. I am boring you, though?"

"Not at all. But you seem so familiar with the spot, I wish you could tell me why that ladder leading down to the water is lashed against the stonework in yonder corner?"

"That ladder," said the young man, brightening at the question, "why the position, perhaps the very existence of that ladder, resulted from my meditations in the reservoir, at which you smiled just now. Shall I tell you all about them?"

"Pray do."

"Well you have seen the notice forbidding any one to fish in the reservoir. Now when I read that warning, the spirit of the thing struck me at once, as inferring nothing more than that one should not sully the temperance potations of our citizens by steeping bait in it, of any kind; but you probably know the common way of taking pike with a slipnoose of delicate wire. I was determined to have a touch at the fellows with this kind of tackle.

I chose a moonlight night; and an hour before the edifice was closed to visitors, I secreted myself within the walls, determined to pass the night on the top. All went as I could wish it. The night proved cloudy, but it was only a variable drift of broken clouds which obscured the moon. I had a walking cane-rod with me which would reach to the margin of the water, and several feet beyond, if necessary. To this was attached the wire about fifteen inches in length.

I prowled along the parapet for a considerable time, but not a single fish could I see. The clouds made a flickering light and shade, that wholly foiled my steadfast gaze. I was convinced that should they come up thicker my whole night's adventure would be thrown away. "Why should I not descend the sloping wall and get nearer on a level with the fish, for thus alone can I hope to see one?" The question had hardly shaped itself in my mind before I had one leg over the iron railing.

If you look around you will see now that there are some half dozen weeds growing here and there maid the fissures of the solid masonry. In one of the fissures from whence these spring, I planted a foot, and began my descent. The reservoir was fuller than it is now, and a few strides would have carried me to the margin of the water. Holding on to the cleft above, I felt round with one foot for a place to plant it below me.

In that moment the flap of a pound pike made me look round, and the roots of the weed upon which I partially depended, gave way as I was in the act of turning. Sir, one's senses are sharpened in deadly peril; as I live now, I distinctly heard the bells of Trinity chiming midnight, as I rose to the surface the next instant, immersed in the stone cauldron, where I must swim for my life heaven only could tell how long!

I am a capital swimmer; and this naturally gave me a degree of self-possession. Falling as I had, I of course had pitched out some distance from the sloping parapet. A few strokes brought me to the edge. I really was not yet certain but that I could clamber up the face of the wall anywhere. I hoped that I could. I felt certain at least there was some spot where I might get hold with my hands, even if I did not ultimately ascend it.

I tried the nearest spot. The inclination of the wall was so vertical that it did not even rest me to lean against it. I felt with my hands and with my feet. Surely, I thought, there must be some fissure like those in which that ill-omened weed had found a place for its root!

There was none. My fingers became sore in busying themselves with the harsh and inhospitable stones. My feet slipped from the smooth and slimy masonry beneath the water; and several times my face came in rude contact with the wall, when my toothold gave way on the instant that I seemed to have found some diminutive rocky cleet upon which I could stay myself.

Sir, did you ever see a rat drowned in a half-filled hogshead? how he swims round, and round; and after vainly trying the sides again and again with his paws, fixes his eyes upon the upper rim as if he would *look himself* out of his watery prison.

I thought of the miserable vermin, thought of him as I had often watched thus his dying agonies, when a cruel urchin of eight or ten. Boys are horribly cruel, sir; boys, women, and savages. All child-like things are cruel; cruel from a want of thought and from perverse ingenuity, although by instinct each of these is so tender. You may not have observed it, but a *savage* is as tender to its own young as a boy is to a favourite puppy—the same boy that will torture a kitten out of existence. I thought, then, I say, of the rat drowning in a half-filled cask of water, and lifting his gaze out of the vessel as he grew more and more desperate. and I flung myself on my back, and floating thus, fixed my eyes upon the face of the moon.

The moon is well enough, in her way, however you may look at her; but her appearance is, to say the least of it, peculiar to a man floating on his back in the centre of a stone tank, with a dead wall of some fifteen or twenty feet rising squarely on every side of him (the young man smiled bitterly as he said this, and shuddered once or twice before he went on, musingly)! The last time I had noted the planet with any emotion she was on the wane. Mary was with me, I had brought her out here one morning to look at the view from the top of the Reservoir. She said little of the scene, but as we talked of our old and childish loves, I saw that its fresh features were incorporating themselves with tender memories of the past, and I was content.

There was a rich golden haze upon the landscape, and as my own spirits rose amid the voluptuous atmosphere, she pointed to the waning planet, discernible like a faint gash in the welkin, and wondered how long it would be before the leaves would fall! Strange girl, did she mean to rebuke my joyous mood, as if we had no right to be happy while nature, withering in her pomp, and the sickly moon wasting in the blaze of noontide, were there to remind us of "the-gone-for-ever?" "They will all renew themselves, dear Mary," said I, encouragingly; "and there is one that he will ever keep tryste alike with thee and Nature through all seasons, if thou wilt but be true to one of us, and remain as now a child of nature."

A tear sprang to her eye, and then searching her pocket for her card-case, she remembered an engagement to be present at Miss Lawson's opening of fall bonnets, at two o'clock!

And yet, dear, wild, wayward Mary, I thought of thing, sir; but I, looking at the moon, as I floated there upturned to her yellow light, thought of the loved being whose tears I knew would flow when she heard of my singular fate, at once so grotesque, yet melancholy to awfulness.

You have probably outlived this sort

And how often we have talked, too, of that Carian shepherd who spent his damp nights upon the hills, gazing as I do on the lustrous planet! Who will revel with her amid those old superstitions? Who, from our own unlegened woods, will evoke their yet undetected, haunting spirits? Who peer with her, in prying scrutiny into nature's laws, and challenge the whispers of poetry from the voiceless throat of matter? Who laugh merrily over the stupid guesswork of pedants, that never mingled with the infinitude of nature, through love exhaustless and all-embracing, as we have? Poor girl, she will be companionless.

Alas! companionless forever—save in the exciting stages of some brisk flirtation. She will live hereafter by feeding other hearts with love's lore she has learned from me, and then, Pygmalion-like, grow food of the images she has herself endowed with semblance of divinity, until they seem to breathe back the mystery the soul can truly catch from only one.

How anxious she will be lest the coroner shall have discovered any of her notes in my pocket!

I felt chilly as this last reflection crossed my mind. Partly at thought of the coroner, partly at the idea of Mary being unwillingly compelled to wear mourning for me, in case of such a disclosure of our engagement. It is a provoking thing for a girl of nineteen to have to go into mourning for a deceased lover, at the beginning of her second winter in the metropolis.

The water, though, with my motionless position, must have had something to do with my chilliness. I see sir, you think that I tell my story with great levity; but, indeed, indeed I should grow delirious did I venture to hold steadily to the awfulness of my feelings the greater part of that night. I think indeed, I must have been most of the time hysterical with horror, for the vibrating emotions I have recapitulated did pass through my brain even as I have detailed them.

But as I now became calm in thought, I summoned up again some resolution of action.

I will begin at that corner (said I) and swim around the whole enclosure. I will swim slowly and again feel the sides of the tank with my feet. If die I must, let me perish at least from well directed though exhausting effort, not sink from mere bootless weariness in sustaining myself till the morning shall bring relief.

The sides of the place seemed to grow higher as I now kept my watery course beneath them. It was not altogether a dead pull. I had some variety of emotion in making my circuit. When I swam in the shadow it looked to me more cheerful beyond in the moonlight. When I swam in the moonlight I had the hope of making some discovery when I should again reach the shadow. I turned several times on my back to rest just where those wavy lines would meet. The stars looked viciously bright to me from the bottom of that well; there was such a company of them; they were so glad in their lustrous revelry; and they had such space to move in! I was alone, sad to despair, in a strange element, prisoned, and a solitary gazer upon the mocking chorus. And yet there was nothing else with which I could hold communion!

I turned upon my breast and struck out almost frantically, once more. The stars were forgotten, the moon, the very world of which I as yet formed a part, my poor Mary herself was forgotten. I thought only of the strong man there perishing; of me in my lusty manhood, in the sharp vigour of my dawning prime, with faculties illimitable, with senses all alert, battling *there* with physical obstacles which men like myself had brought together for my undoing. The Eternal could never have willed this thing! I could not and I would not perish thus. And I grew strong in insolence of self-trust; and I laughed aloud as I dashed the sluggish water from side to side.

Then came an emotion of pity for myself—of wild, wild regret; of sorrow, oh, infinite for a fate so desolate, a doom so dreary, so heart-sickening. You may laugh at the contradiction if you will, sir, but I felt that I could sacrifice my own life on the instant to redeem another fellow-creature from such a place of horror, from an end so piteous. My soul and my vital spirit seemed in that desperate moment, to be separating; while one in parting grieved over the deplorable fate of the other.

And then I prayed!

I prayed, why or wherefore I know not. It was not from fear. It could not have been in hope. The days of miracles are passed, and there was no natural law by whose providential interposition I could be saved. I did not pray; it prayed of itself, my soul within me.

Was the calmness that I now felt, torpidity? the torpidity that precedes dissolution, in the strong swimmer who, sinking from exhaustion, must at last add a bubble to the wave as he suffocates beneath the element which now denied his mastery? If it were so, how fortunate was it that my floating rod at that moment attracted my attention as it dashed through the water by me. I saw on the instant that a fish had entangled himself in the wire noose. The rod quivered, plunged, came again to the surface and rippled the water as it shot in arrowy flight from side to side of the tank. At last driven towards the southeast corner of the reservoir, the small end seemed to have got foul somewhere. The brazen butt, which, every time the fish sounded, was thrown up to the moon, now sank by its own weight, showing that the other end must be fast. But the cornered fish, evidently anchored somewhere by that short wire, floundered several times to the surface before I thought of striking out to the spot.

The water is low now and tolerably clear. You may see the very ledge there sir, in yonder corner, on which the small end of my rod rested when I secured that pike with my hands. I did not take him from the slip-noose, however; but standing upon the ledge, handled the rod in a workman-like manner, as I flung that pound pickerel over the iron railing upon the top of the parapet. The rod, as I have told you, barely reached from the railing to the water. It was a heavy, strong bass rod which I had borrowed in the "Spirit of the Times" office; and when I discovered that the fish at the end of the wire made a strong enough knot to prevent me from drawing my tackle away from the railing around which it twined itself as I threw, why, as you can at once see, I had but little difficulty in making my way up the face of the wall with such assistance. The ladder which attracted your notice is, as you see, lashed to the iron railing in the identical spot where I thus made my escape; and for fear of similar accidents they have placed another one in the corresponding corner of the other compartment of the tank ever since my remarkable night's adventure in the reservoir.

We give the above singular relation verbatim as heard from the lips of our chance acquaintance; and, although strongly tempted to "work it up" after the fantastic style of a famous German namesake, prefer that the reader should have it in its American simplicity.

C. F. H.

From the Tribune.

FERDINAND FREILIGRATH'S LAST POEM.

FERDINAND FREILIGRATH, the noble-spirited Poet of Freedom, is now in Prison at Düsseldorf, on the Rhine, for the publication of one of his stirring Tyrtæan lyrics on German Politics. Immediately before the news of his arrest reached this country letters had been received announcing his intention of accompanying Friedrich Hecker, and his many friends on this side of the Atlantic indulged the hope of welcoming him to the soil whose scenery he has so often pictured in song. The writer of this passed a day with him, at Rapperschwyl, on the Lake of Zurich, soon after his first banishment, and he then spoke with enthusiasm of a visit to America. A number of Germans in Wisconsin had written to him, describing their settlement on the prairies near Milwaukee, and invited him to come and make his home among them. They promised him groves of oak, as green and sturdy as those which shadow the "Eichenland," and broad rivers, as swift and sounding, if not so storied, as the Rhine. His muse, they said, would find inspiration on the virgin soil of a New World. "I thank the kind people from my very heart," said Freiligrath, as he spoke of this; "but I could not bear the thought of giving up my own country forever. The home of my heart is in Germany, and though it should never be my lot to visit her again, I have that duty to perform which all her sons owe to her, and must not wander far from her borders." This pure and single-minded patriotism has characterized every action of the Poet. Opposed, misunderstood and misrepresented as he may have been, he has never failed in self-sacrificing devotion to his country.

A letter has been received in this country, from his talented and heroic wife, IDA FREILIGRATH, since his imprisonment. From this letter we learn that soon after the appearance of his last poem, "*The Dead to the Living*," he was summoned by the authorities of Düsseldorf to appear before them.— His wife entreated him most earnestly to leave the city without complying with this order, but, with his usual fearlessness, he went at once to answer it, and was arrested and imprisoned. By the last accounts from Düsseldorf, through private sources, his trial had been commenced. The present law in Prussia, we believe, makes the penalty of publishing seditious articles imprisonment or banishment. If, however, it should be proven that consequences hostile to the Government have followed such publication, the offender may be punished with death. The circumstance most unfavourable for Freiligrath is, that the King of Prussia, while on his way to the Festival at Cologne Cathedral, was mobbed by the citizens of Düsseldorf. Freligrath was known to have been there at the time, and the officers employed by the Prussian Government to conduct his trial, may now endeavour to establish a connection between these facts. Even should they be successful, no Court will dare, in the present condition of Germany, to pronounce sentence against the life of such a man.

The poem which follows contains so much indignant denunciation, and such fiery appeals to the impatience with which the German people bear the remains of their former yoke, that the effect which it would create among the masses may easily be conceived. It is, in this writer's opinion, the boldest and fiercest lyric which the Revolutions of 1848 have produced. It has been his aim, in translating, to give the spirit and imagery of the original as nearly literal as possible, though, of course, much of their effect has been necessarily lost. It is the Dead of Berlin—before whose bodies the King of Prussia was obliged to uncover—who speak to the Living. Those who remember the description of that terrible scene, will at once comprehend the force of the Poem.

THE DEAD TO THE LIVING.

BY FERDINAND FREILIGRATH—TRANSLATED FOR THE TRIBUNE BY J. BAYARD TAYLOR.

I.

THE bullet in the marble breast, the gash upon the brow,
You raised us on the bloody planks with wild and wrathful vow!
High in the air you lifted us, that every writhe of pain
Might be an endless curse to *him*, at whose word we were slain!—
That he might see us in the gloom, or in the daylight's shine,
Whether he turns his Bible's leaf, or quaffs his foaming wine!—
That the dread memory on his soul should evermore be burned,
A wasting and destroying flame within its gloom inurned—
That every mouth with pain convulsed, and every gory wound,
Be round him in the terror hour, when his lost bell shall sound—
That every sob above us heard smite shuddering on his ear—
That each pale hand be clenched to strike, despite his dying fear,
Whether his sinking head still wear its mockery of a crown,
Or he should lay it, bound, dethroned, on the bloody scaffold down!

II.

Thus, with the bullet in the breast, the gash upon the brow,
You laid us at the altar's foot with deep and solemn vow;
"Come down!" ye cried—he trembling came—even to our bloody bed:
"Uncover!" and 'twas tamely done!—(like a mean puppet led,
Sank he whose life had been a farce, with fear unwonted shaken!)
Meanwhile his army fled the field, which, dying, we had taken!
Loudly in "*Jesus thou my trust!*"* the anthem'd voices peal:
Why did the victor-crowds forget the sterner trust of steal?
That morning followed on the night when we together fell,
And when ye made our burial, there was triumph in the knell!
Though crushed behind the barricades, and scarred in every limb,
The pride of conscious victory lay upon our foreheads grim!
We thought; the price is dearly paid, but the treasures *must* be true,
And rested calmly in the graves we swore to fill for you!

III.

Alas! for you—we were deceived. Four moons have scarcely run,
Since cowardly ye've forfeited what we so bravely won!
Like waves came thundering every sound of wrong among the lands—
The strife on Denmark's border, and Poland's forging bands!—
The vengeance of the Vendean men in many a province stern—
The calling back of banished troops—the Prince's base return—
Wherever barricades were built, the lock on press and tongue;
On the free right of all debate, the daily-practiced wrong;
The groaning clang of prison-doors in North and South afar!
For all who plead the People's right, Oppression's ancient bar!
The bond with Russia's Cossacks—the breaking of your trust,
Ye, who should bear the laureled bronze above your storied dust!—
Ye, who have borne the hardest brunt, that Freedom might advance,
Victorious in defeat and death—June-warriors of France.

IV.

Know ye how Labour felt the wrong, the Elbe and Rhine beside,
And beat, oh, German men! your hearts, with calm and sluggish tide?
Say, *is there war beneath your vests?* Out with it, fierce and bold!
The second, final War with all who Freedom would withhold!
Shout: "The Republic!" till it drowns the chiming minster-bells,
Whose sound this swindle of your rights by crafty Austria tells!
In vain! 'tis time your faltering hands should disentomb us yet,
And lift us on the planks, begirt with many a bayonet;
Not to the palace-court, as then, that he may near us stand—
No; to the tent, the market-place, and through the wakening land!
Out through the broad land bear us—the dead Insurgents sent,
To join, upon our ghastly biers, the German Parliament.
O solemn sight! there we should lie, the grave-earth on each brow,
And faces sunken in decay—the proper Regents now!
There we should lie, and say to you: "Ere we could waste away,
Your Freedom-gift, ye archons brave, is rotting in decay!
The corn is housed which burst the sod, when the March sun on us shone,
But before all other harvests was Freedom's March-seed mown!
Chance poppies, which the sickle spared, among the stubbles stand;
O, would that Wrath, the crimson Wrath, thus blossomed in the land!"
And yet, it *does* remain: it springs behind the reaper's track;
Too much had been already gained, too much been stolen back;
Too much of scorn, too much of shame, heaped daily on your head—
Wrath and Revenge *must* still be left: believe it, from the dead!

V.

It *does* remain, and it awakes—it shall and must awake!
The Revolution, half complete, yet wholly forth will break.
It waits the hour to rise in power, like an up-rolling storm,
With lifted arms and streaming hair—a wild and mighty form!
It grasps the rusted gun once more, and swings the battered blade,
While the red banners flap the air from every barricade!
Those banners lead the German Guards—the armies of the Free—
Till Princes fly their blazing thrones and hasten toward the sea!
The boding eagles leave the land—the lion's claws are shorn—
The sovereign People, roused and bold, await the Future's morn!
Now, till the wakening hour shall strike, we keep our scorn and wrath
For you, ye Living! who have dared to falter on your path!
Up, and prepare—*keep watch in arms!* O, make the German sod
Above our stiffened forms, all free, and blest by Freedom's God;
That this one bitter thought no more disturb us in our graves:
"THEY ONCE WERE FREE—THEY FELL—AND NOW, FOREVER THEY ARE SLAVES!"

NOTE.—Since the above translation was written, the steamship *Europa* has arrived, bringing the welcome intelligence that the trial of FREILIGRATH has been concluded at Düsseldorf, resulting in his complete acquittal from all the charges made against him by the Government. The inhabitants of the city were enthusiastic in their demonstrations of rejoicing on the occasion, and loaded him with flowers on his departure from the prison.

J. B. T.

* The old Church hymn of "*Jesus thou my trust!*" was sung by the people of Berlin during the funeral procession of the victims.—Translator.

From Douglas Jerrold's Newspaper.

THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM OF THE AGE.

The spirit of revolution has seized hold of nearly all the kingdoms of Europe. Traditions have lost their conservative influences, and time-honoured institutions are crumbling into dust. The strength of Governments no longer resides in moral power, based on the confidence and loyalty of the people. Statesmen now only depend on the organized physical force of a soldiery and a police, occasionally fortified by additions to the severity of the penal code. A sense of insecurity pervades all classes, and nothing but the fear of jeopardizing property secures a hollow and reluctant allegiance. New doctrines are *unsettling* the minds of men—in some inspiring hope, in others creating alarm, and very clearly announcing an approaching war against vested interests. We see clearly that a struggle has commenced between the reminiscences of the past and the aspirations of the future, and that we now stand on the threshold of a transition epoch. The menaced movement is different from any other recorded in our history; it is not dynastic; it is not religious; it is not oligarchic; it involves no controversy between Whig and Tory; it is national and social in its tendency, seeking to solve the great industrial problem of the just distribution of wealth between property and labour.

Some three quarters of a century have elapsed since TURGOT and ADAM SMITH added political economy to the list of sciences; and it was hoped that their labours might lead to the discovery of a system calculated to harmonise the discordant relations of society. This science has been cultivated with uninterrupted diligence by their successors, and various have been the theories propounded on rent, profits, and wages. From the commencement of the present century, political economy has been one of the principal guides of statesmanship, and the presiding genius of commercial legislation, calling into existence a profound and careful study of statistics. Under its inspiration a variety of commissions have been appointed to collect evidence on the state and condition of those employed in the chief departments of industry, and voluminous Blue-books attest the industry of their compilers. However, the miseries of the people have outrun all remedial measures hitherto proposed by the political economists, and their science has failed in its expected results; yet while their teachings have been most dominant, they have had the advantage of seeing productive power, through machinery, augmented in a degree altogether unprecedented. The failure, therefore, can only be attributed to an ignorance of the law of distribution, which has yet to be discovered. Not succeeding in that discovery, the economists have boldly cut the knot which they could not untie, and proclaimed, amidst the increasing production of wealth; that destitution was the inevitable lot of the millions—a doctrine which leads to sedition through despair.

He must be a very superficial observer of passing events who does not perceive that the grand characteristic fact of modern civilization is the tendency of society to Industrial Feudalism, by which we mean the concentration of wealth, with all the powers and privileges incident to wealth, in the hands of a very few individuals. If it be the just reward of industry to accumulate, it ought to be the just punishment on idleness to dissipate; but in practice these principles are wholly reversed. There is no obligation on the proprietors of land or on the fundholders to labour or add to production; they live by an annual tribute levied on those who are compelled to produce, and it is difficult to deny that this system is a very close approximation to Slavery.— Now political economy takes society as it is, not as it ought to be; it assumes the appropriation of land to exclusive and hereditary ownership as a wise and just regulation, and accepts it with all its consequences; and instead of applying itself to the elucidation of the true, strains its principles to the maintenance of the false.

What is the producer? Nothing.—What ought he to be? Everything.—What is the capitalist? Paramount.—What ought he to be? Subordinate.— Let us explain ourselves. The proprietor of an estate lets it to farmers at a rent. In twenty or twenty-five years the accumulated rents equal the fee simple. In the meanwhile the proprietor has done nothing as a producer, but he holds the estate, and lets it again on the same terms. He escapes altogether from the usual penalties of idleness and exacts tribute from industry. This is not in harmony with the natural order of things; men feel that it is not, and the conviction of the injustice is one of the principal causes of the revolutionary spirit pervading Europe, uttering its protest in the form of Communism. History has been consulted, and it teaches that the original title-deeds were carved with the sharp edge of the sword; and it is denied that the primary usurpation has been clothed with justice by the intervention of pen or parchment. Even the founder of political economy casts a slur on this particular form of ownership, for ADAM SMITH, in his chapter on wages, observes, "As soon as the land of any country has all become private property, the landlords, like all other men, love to reap where they never sowed, and demand a rent even for its natural produce. The wood of the forest, the grass of the field, and all the natural fruits of the earth, which, when land was in common, cost the labourer only the trouble of gathering them, come even to him to have an additional price fixed on them. He must then pay for the license to gather them, and must give up to the landlord a portion of what his labour either collects or produces." But the landlord neither formed the earth, nor imparted fertility to its surface, nor deposited the metals or minerals in its bowels, nor channelled the rivers, nor stocked them with fish; but he claims them all for himself, producing nothing. His superiority consists in his exemption from labour—his idleness constitutes his respectability.

The fundholder enjoys similar privileges, though not to the same extent. He originally lent his money to the Government, but he has long since been repaid his loan in the shape of repeated dividends. We are still paying interest on the debts contracted by Queen Anne, though the principal has been redeemed over and over again. The living feel this perpetual mortgage an injustice, thinking that each generation should be responsible for its own obligations. No individual is permitted to charge on his descendants his private indebtedness, and people are inquiring why what is refused to individuals should be conceded to a nation, which is no more than an aggregate of individuals. To those who insist on keeping faith with the public creditor, they answer is it reconcileable with justice to violate all faith with the public debtor, making him answerable for the reckless extravagance to which he was no party a century before he was born? It may be said that a nation is a continuity, and therefore that national obligations are hereditary, but is there no danger in the doctrine when pushed to this extreme; and is not an equitable adjustment more politic? The argument tells equally in favour of the perpetuity of dynastic institutions, but their fate is well known.— However complicated the subject, however difficult of a just and satisfactory settlement, the fact remains that perpetual annuities are a perpetual tax on labour for the perpetual advantage of idleness.

We next encounter the monied class, whose position is closely assimilated to that of the recipients of rent and dividends. Banking institutions are curiously constructed establishments. Their proprietors enrich themselves by lending at interest the capital of their own constituents. They are, at one and the same time, trustees of deposits left with them and usufructuaries of the gains realized on those deposits. To them all discounts are tributes in a disguised form, which conventionalism has sanctioned, for they command the instruments by which alone industry can interchange it commodities. But what is most remarkable is the fact that the QUEEN herself is despoiled of that ancient prerogative of royalty which formerly permitted the Crown to issue its own money to discharge its own expenses; it is now compelled to borrow money at interest from the Bank of England, a private company, invested with special privileges by Parliament, the right of actually levying tribute on the QUEEN, or rather on the rest of their fellow subjects, forming part of those privileges conceded to it by the representatives of the people. It is asked why should not the QUEEN issue her own money, based on the credit of the whole national property, Lombard-street and Threadneedle-street included, and thus save the interest now extracted from the industrious classes?

In approaching, then, the solution of the industrial problem, it is evident, from the preceding sketch, that in the existing state of society the dominant power does not reside in labour, but in idleness. We see why the capitalist is everything, and the producer nothing, and it is the unfair distribution of wealth thus manifested that has inflamed the spirit of revolution now shaking the thrones of Europe. Landholders, fundholders, and money lenders wield the law of Force, the law of the strong hand nod of the despotic Will, more vigorously than the iron barons of feudalism. The feudal nobility did not live in idleness; to maintain their position they were always ready to put their feet into the stirrups and their hands on their swords; but the successors to their power are neither exposed to danger nor liable to be roused from their indolence; they have a standing army and a police to do their bidding, and that army and that police are paid by the very industry they are hired to coerce. The whole contrivance is admirable in its ingenuity, MACCHIAVELLI would have raised altars to its inventors.

Grave wrongs demand grave remedies, and when privilege becomes a nuisance, the assertion of right becomes an imperious necessity. Taking man in the aggregate, his tendency is to repose; and when he springs into political activity, the stimulus is given by misrule. True it is that there are always restless spirits, prompted by a discontent that nothing can satisfy, or a morbid love of notoriety never to be satiated, which seek inopportunely to stir up civic tumult; but these isolated cases are exceptions to the general rule by which society is influenced. It requires a widely spread and deeply rooted sense of injustice to rouse a people to insurrection and organic changes, such as we now observe manifested by overt acts on the continent, and not dimly shadowed forth in the United Kingdom.— Those who can look beneath the surface, and can reason on the future aided by an experience of the past, will surely conclude that the great ultimate object of the present movement is the "nationalisation of landed property," as the only effective solution of the industrial problem.

All wars have been wars of territorial conquest, the object being tribute to be levied by idleness on industry. That motive prompted the Danish, Saxon, and Norman invasions of England. It caused the desperate struggles between the Red and White Roses, forfeited estates being the prospective rewards of the expectant victors. It was the secret cause, though religion was the ostensible pretext, of the Reformation, the lands of the Church being the coveted spoils of the victors. It prompted to the great rebellion against CHARLES I., and its fruits were the surrender of the feudal dues at the Restoration. It expelled JAMES I., and stripped the Crown of its hereditary estates. It led to the confiscations in Ireland, and deprived the peasantry of England of their commons by enclosure acts. Then the territorial conquests of the oligarchy were complete within these realms, but the desire of idleness to live on the fruits of industry led to colonial aggrandisement. We got possession of America, but pushing the demand of tribute to an imprudent extent, the prize eluded our grasp. The poor ryots of British India, incapable of repelling force by force, pay tribute to their masters in the shape of salt, without which they die. Customs duties, levied on colonial produce entering our harbours, aid in the discharge of those taxes which would otherwise fall with a heavier weight on the estates of the oligarchy, and thus become tribute in disguise; while official appointments, salaried out of colonial revenues, are to the junior members of the oligarchy equivalents for their disinheritance from the patrimonial estates. The system is held together by the combination of the landed, funded, and monied interests, which now constitute, for all practical purposes, the three estates of the realm, not as of old, balancing each other by a jealous antagonism, but working in union by a subtle and compact alliance.

Men are now asking for rigid definitions of private property. The attempt to shut up Glen Tilt in Scotland, to promote the sport of deer stalking, has weakened faith in the old *dicta* of legists. The wretched state of Ireland has thrown the public mind still more forcibly into the same channel of inquiry. It is known that the most competent judges have declared that three millions of acres of waste land in that island are susceptive of reclamation; that the cost of drainage has been computed at ten shillings per acre, and the expense of rendering the soil fit for profitable tenancy, at ten pounds per acre. Why then is it not done, where famine is periodical, and where ... is preached up as a necessity? Because the lan is private property, and the owners, unable or un willing to bestow fertility upon it, insist that would be an act of spoliation did Government tak the acres into their own hands and render them pr ductive. They are, therefore, left to snipes an rabbits, and the fable of the dog and the manger realised. Under these circumstances, it is becomin felt that the appropriation of land to exclusive own ership should be in the nature of a trust, and th if the trustee did not perform the conditions obv ously imposed on him, and reclaim the land fro sterility, some new appropriator should be found since the act of appropriation did not contempla the exclusive aggrandisement of the individual, b the general welfare of society committed to h agency and superintendence.

This system of parcelling out the earth amon few families has been extended to Australasia on gigantic scale. At the establishment of the Swa River settlement, for example, a grant of 1,800,00 acres was made to Captain STIRLING, appointe Lieut. Governor, while Mr. PEEL received 250,00 acres, with liberty to enlarge the appropriation 1,000,000 acres. These are not isolated cases, b they show how posterity is to be robbed. Ha these lands, which belong to the people of Gre Britain, been let at small commencing rents, suc rents to be made payable to the Colonial Gover ment as a release from all other description of ta a foundation of future prosperity would have bee laid, based on justice; but the actual arrangeme is to pave the way for a future aristocracy.

It is our firm conviction that the reforming or re olutionary spirit now abroad under the forms communism and socialism, has for its ultimate o ject the "nationalisation of landed property." The is, perhaps, yet time to change this tendency of th movement, by vesting all lands yet unoccupied the Crown, to be let in small farms at modera rents to tenants for life. Such a plan would in prove the revenue and allay sedition. But this certain, that the people must and will be fed, a that unless the vaunted science of political econon can compass that end, it will be superceded by sounder and more righteous creed. Idleness can longer be permitted to flourish at the expense industry; still less can it be tolerated that men ab and willing to work shall seek in vain for emplo ment. The theories which limit production must discarded, and labour must doff the badge of d grace and wear on its brow the coronet of hono We must raise the producer into dignity and co fort, whatever may be the fate of landlords, fun holders, bankers, and usurers. The independen of the bees over the drones must not only be asse ed, but enforced. The titled idler must pay t penalties of not contributing to the public stock wealth, and then untitled labour will achieve peaceful emancipation. If those who arrogate themselves the character of statesmen are unal to solve the industrial problem, they should resi the post to which they are incompetent, ere th are hurled from power like METTERNICH and GUIZ revolutionising society in their ignominious dow fall.

ALADDIN.

PRETENSION.—A man passes for that he is wor Very idle is all curiosity concerning other peopl estimate of us, and idle is all fear of remaini unknown. If a man know that he can do anything that he can do it better that any one else—he ha a pledge of the acknowledgment of that fact by persons. The world is full of judgment-days, a into every assembly that man enters, in every tion he attempts, he is guaged and stamped "What hath he done?" is the divine quest which searches men, and transpierces every fa reputation. A fop may sit in any chair of the wo nor be distinguished for his hour from Homer Washington; but there can never be any doubt c cerning the respective ability of human beings wh we seek the truth. Pretension may sit still, cannot act. Pretension never feigned an act of r greatness. Pretension never wrote an Iliad, drove back Xerxes, nor christianised the world, abolished Slavery.—*R. W. Emerson.*

DUMAS, THE MULATTO.—The anecdotes of Dun are among the things which abound, but the follow is the last. The prolific mulatto was lately takin holiday at Asnieres with his two friends, Jadin "Mylord." Dumas had worked hard at the o and as they approached a little refreshment hot he proposed to land and moisten. Jadin was gondolier of the day and his the cares of "mak last." Mylord has a passion for killing cats, and was busy strangling his two thousand seven hund and seventy-eighth, while the distinguished autho Monte-Christo entered the house to survey for entertainment. The accommodation for the pu was one large room with one small table, and at t table, upon the only bench, lounged an individual commonly at his ease.

"Pardon, my friend," said Dumas, "a little ro if you please."

"Room!" said the other without stirring, "ro at my table? No sir!"

"Not very liberal," said Dumas, "and still fraternal."

"Possible—but so it has to be!"

"Will you permit me," asked the good natu author, still unruffled, "to bring a bottle and dr with you, then?"

"I don't drink with everybody who comes alon

"Diable! considering the times we live in, you exclusive."

"Exclusive or no, I only drink with my equ Mr. Mulatto!"

Like an echo to the word came a blow from mas's fists, which laid the exclusive gentleman un the table.

"Eh!" inquired Jadin, entering as Dumas tr quilly seated himself in the place he had thus vaca "what is the row?"

"Nothing," said the author, "I was only de cratizing an aristocrat."—*Home Journal.*

WOMEN OF THE REVOLUTION.—Go back then t ball of that day and see "the women of the re lution" as they presented themselves. The brocades, hoarded in many an enormous old h trunk, still show how our gay grandmothers dres in those days. The ostrich plumes, and even setting of their prodigal jewelry are piously prese ed by some—while their plain caps, short gow and kerchiefs for morning wear—proofs of their mestic simplicity, lie side by side with the more sho mementoes of the pageantry of "Vanity Fair." the substratum of character extends further than ternals. As yet there are no French Boarding Scho and those high-heeled dames who walk minuets the grace of the *vieille cour*, are at a loss to foll the half-whispered French of the British staff o cer, who is commenting upon the Provincials in t ear of some European lady. But the home b American girl, although having no governess her mother, shared in all the instructions impar by her brother's private Tutor—and the impertine of the Oxonian is arrested by the merry remarks the clustering colonist belles, who cut him up in fluent Latin as he ever heard within the walls of college; while one of their number, familiar a with the fashionable tongue in which he had tempted to conceal his strictures from these "ba educated colonists," mocks him by translating French into Latin for the amusement of her laug ing companions, until the vexed beau is ov whelmed with confusion and apologizes to the gro in the name of all their countrywomen (Facts!) *Literary World.*

LOCAL AGETNS FOR THE STANDARD.

DR. DAVID M. DAVIS, Woodstown, N. J.
CHARLES ATKINSON, Marion, Grant co. Ia.
J. MILLER M'KIM, Philadelphia, Pa.
AMARANCY PAINE, Providence, R. I.
PLINY SEXTON, Palmyra, "
J. C. HATHAWAY, Farmington, Ontario co. N. Y.
THOMAS McCLINTOCK, Waterloo,
S. HOWLAND, Sherwood's Corners, Cayuga co. N. Y.
S. STAMFORD ASHLEY, Oberlin, Ohio,
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Boston, Mass.
JESSE HOLMES, New Lisbon, Columbiana co. Ohio,
K. G. THOMAS, Marlborough, Stark co. "
ISAAC LEWIS, Short Creek, Harrison co. "
E. D. HUDSON, Springfield, Mass.
JAMES A. BURD, Ludlowville, N. Y.
ROBERT C. MARSHALL, Hiram Portage co.
WILLIAM CRONK, Buffalo, N. Y.
GEORGE W. EASTON, Bridgewater, Mass.
DAVID D. COOK, Johnson's Creek, Niagara co. N. Y.
A. H. BIGELOW, Concord, Mass.
L. G. THOMAS, West Winfield, N. Y.
JOHN W. LYON, Hastings, Oswego co. N. Y.
MORRIS KINGSBURY, Fulton, "
CHARLES DOUGLASS, Caughnawa, "
ALEX. FOREMAN, Pulaski, "
JOHN P. DICKINSON, Cleveland, "
SOLOMON PECK, Mexicoville, "
JOHN WILBUR, 9d. North Easton, Washington co. N. Y.